The VALLEY of the DELAWARE and Its Place in American History

John Palmer Gaeber

Some of the Noted Men Who Added to the Early Fame of the Valley of the Delaware

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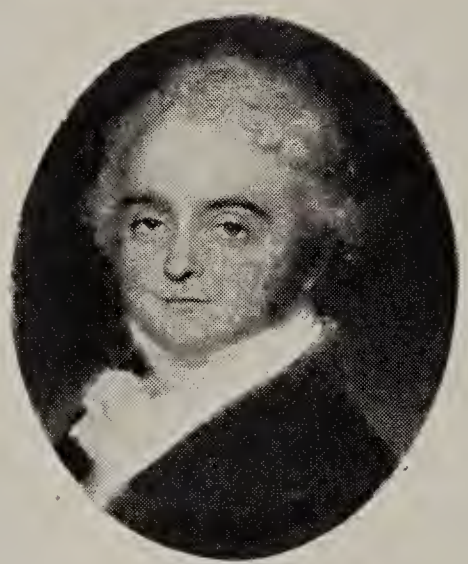
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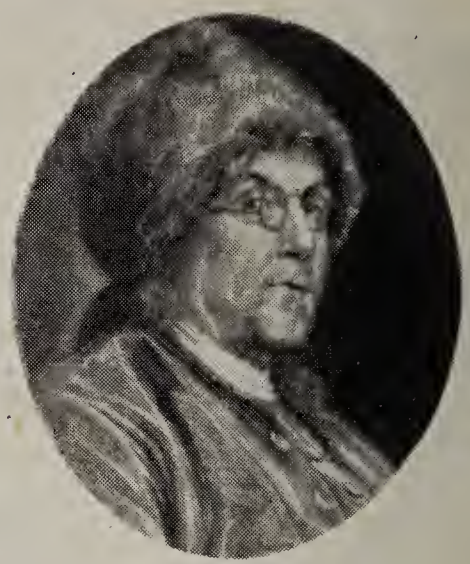
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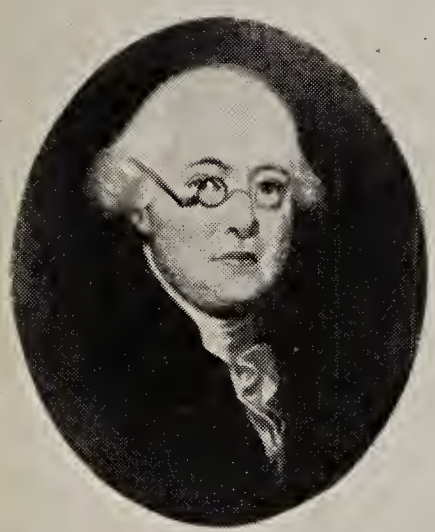
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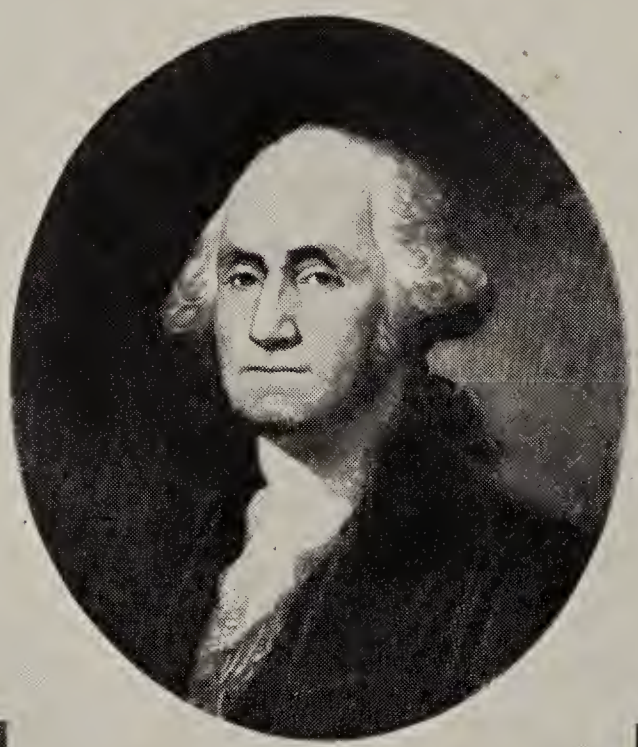
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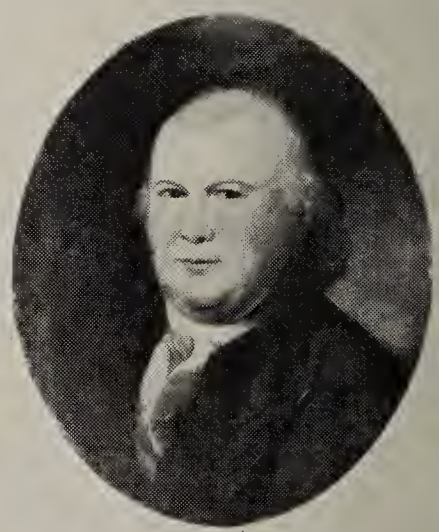
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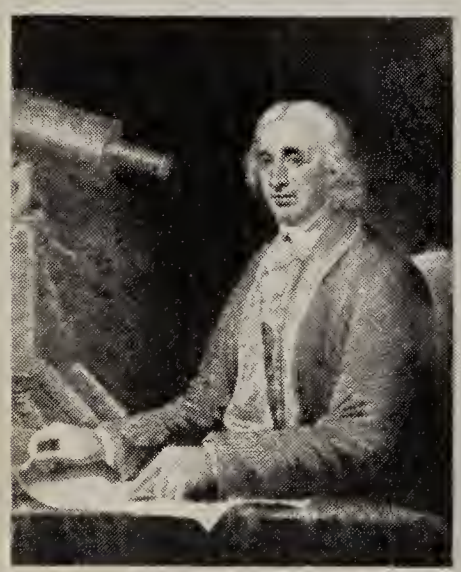
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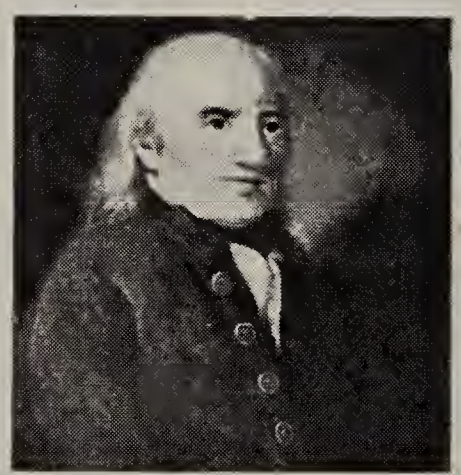
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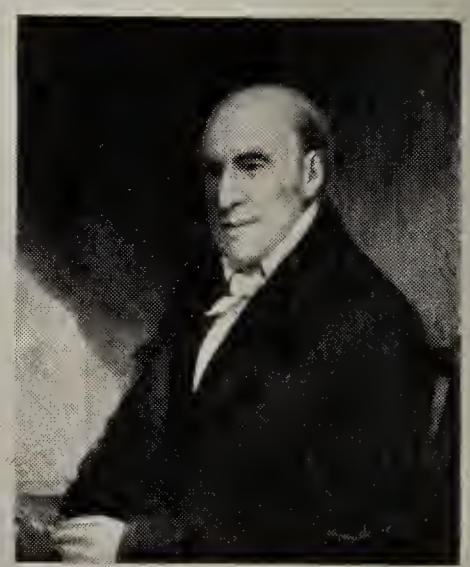
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Courtesy Historical Society of Pennsylvania

1. GEORGE WASHINGTON, as Statesman, Commander, President
2. WILLIAM PENN, Commonwealth Builder
3. ANDREW HAMILTON, Lawyer
4. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Diplomat, Printer
5. JAMES WILSON, Statesman
6. ROBERT MORRIS, Financier
7. DAVID RITTENHOUSE, Astronomer
8. JOHN BARTRAM, Botanist
9. STEPHEN GIRARD, Merchant, Banker

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From an old lithograph

Landing of William Penn at Upland (Chester) in October, 1682. "Essex House," where he was entertained by his friend, Robert Wade, is in the center. A monument now marks the site.

THE VALLEY *of* THE DELAWARE

And Its Place in American History

By
John Palmer Garber

With 58 Illustrations from Actual Photographs

THE JOHN C. WINSTON COMPANY
CHICAGO PHILADELPHIA TORONTO

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Valley of Delaware

DEDICATED to a better appreciation of the Valley of the Delaware and the part it played during the formative period of American history

PREFACE

The Delaware with its branches drains a region with a population almost equal to that of ten of our far western states. While it would be an exaggeration to claim this as a gauge of its present relative importance in the country at large, there was a time in American history when it was so significant in its location and influence as to give Pennsylvania the name of the "Keystone State" of the Union. It is this relative importance during the early period of our history that the author wishes to present and emphasize. At the same time he has endeavored to gather into a general view the many more or less detached sources of information in regard to the history of the Valley and thus give persons, places, and events not only their proper setting in its development, but also the place to which they are entitled in the history of our country as a whole. If the picture has been well drawn, it should also reveal in fair detail much that pertained to the life of the American people during the first century and a half of their history. No excuse is needed for introducing a certain amount of detail if the historian, John Fiske, is correct in saying: "There is real interest in the study of the minute and homely beginnings out of which great communities have grown."[1] Through such a study the forces at work and the personalities of the actors stand out more sharply and distinctly against the simple background. And, certainly, no

[1] *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, I, p. 191.

excuse is needed for presenting this study of the history of the Valley of the Delaware if Fiske is also correct in maintaining that, out of the many nationalities settling it and the adjoining regions, the Ulster and Palatinate stream alone "distilled through the Pennsylvania alembic has formed the main strength of American democracy, and its influence upon American life has been manifold."[1] That the valley was the seat of Penn's "Holy Experiment" as a commonwealth builder; that its principal city became and remained the metropolis of the country for more than a century; that the best years of Washington's mature life were spent in it; that the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States were adopted there; that it was the center of many of the important events of the Revolutionary War; that it contained the seat of government during the Revolution and afterwards for ten vital years; and that it was the home of Franklin, Dickinson, Wayne, Rittenhouse, and other men of daring and progress—all indicate some of the phases of its importance. If the author's efforts shall lead to a fuller recognition of the importance of the Valley of the Delaware during the formative period of American history than has been accorded it, he and the many who have rendered him encouragement and assistance in the work will be gratified.

[1] *Ibid.*, I, p. 326.

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Chapter I

THE VALLEY OF THE DELAWARE AS A HOME FOR MAN

The history of any region inhabited by man really begins far back of any records he may have of his first occupation of it. Fully to understand a people, it is necessary to know something of the influences, natural as well as political and social, that have helped to develop their characteristics and to shape their history for them. From the standpoint of environment nature has dealt bountifully with the Valley of the Delaware. In natural resources and picturesque beauty it is one of the gems of the eastern portion of our great continent. The fifteen thousand square miles of land drained by the Delaware and its tributaries has a population of approximately five millions, a number almost equal to the combined population of ten of our western states. This region, originally densely covered by valuable timber, is divided by hills and low mountains into rich, well-watered valleys where a varied agriculture is at its best. The hills and mountains are also rich in mineral deposits; the streams, even from the earliest days, have furnished an abundance of water power for industry; and the lower Delaware, with its estuary to the ocean, has become a noble highway for commerce.

The temperate climate of the valley, with its favorable amount of rain and snow, has also contributed to

its fruitfulness in products and progress. In the struggle for an adequate supply of water, which is almost inevitable as people crowd into the great centers of population or press to get within convenient distance of them, the great Delaware river system is also destined to play a vital part. In the development of commerce the Delaware has already been channeled from Philadelphia to the ocean to a depth accommodating the largest vessels; and the not distant future should see a ship canal from the Delaware across New Jersey as a direct route to Europe, and as an important link in a great intracoastal waterway from Boston to the Gulf of Mexico. This would add to the commercial importance of Baltimore, as well as of all the cities on the lower Delaware.

From its source in southeastern New York to Trenton, New Jersey, the Delaware has an average fall of 6.7 feet per mile; at Trenton the fall is 8 feet; and nearly all of its tributaries furnish equally great facilities for hydroelectric light and power plants. It was this abundance of water power that made the valley one of the earliest and greatest centers of industry of the colonies.

From Trenton to Delaware Bay, which is in reality only an estuary of the river, the Delaware is a majestic stream, varying from three fourths of a mile to three miles in width. And in its upper course it and its tributaries have carved their way through some of the most picturesque scenery to be found anywhere. The beauty of the hills and valleys framed in by the remarkable blues of the Appalachian Mountains in their northeastern course through the Valley of the Delaware into New Jersey and New York led Thomas

Buchanan Read, after sojourning in many foreign lands, to write:

> "Fair Pennsylvania, than thy midland vales
> Lying twixt hills of green and bound afar
> By billowy mountains rolling in the blue,
> No lovelier landscape meets the traveller's eye."

But the Valley of the Delaware with its surrounding ridges has other values besides that of picturesque beauty. For many years the natural resources of it and the adjacent regions of the eastern Susquehanna held Pennsylvania as the "industrial Titan of the western world." The Pittsburgh and Erie regions entered upon the scene later and have enabled the state to retain its industrial championship. This industrial prominence, like that of any other similarly noted region, though partly dependent upon natural resources is also due to the industry and spirit of progress of the people. Fertile soils, wealth of mineral resources, abundance of water power, and favorable climate must all be transmuted into instruments of comfort, wealth, and power, or otherwise be of little avail. It remains true, however, that this great region of the highly favored Middle Atlantic States has been especially blessed by nature with the means of man's comfort and progress, thereby challenging him to his best efforts in their use. In regard to mineral resources alone, the Smithsonian Institute, in a 1924 report, stated of Pennsylvania as a whole what is especially true of all of the upper Delaware and Schuykill regions:

> "Pennsylvania was at the confluence of earth-building currents. This resulted in the precipitation of a diversified range of mineral products. Pennsylvania stands head and shoulders above any other state in total mineral production."

How then was this region built up by the "confluence of earth-building currents"? The geologic past is measured by eras and epochs and not by years. And the history of these epochs is written so indelibly in the waters, rocks, and soils of the Valley of the Delaware that it forms one of the most interesting chapters in the earth's preparation for human habitation. The lower half of the valley lies in the great coastal plain which, in its entirety, reaches far out to the abysmal depths of the Atlantic, although much of the coastal shelf is beneath the surface of the sea. This coastal plain is relatively level and all, even the bed of the ocean, of the same general formation of mixed sands and clays with a strong intermixture of decomposed animal and vegetable life. The upper half of the valley is in the Atlantic Highlands where, in the wrinkling of the cooling crust of the earth, Alpine-like peaks were formed and many of the lower strata of the earth's crust so inclined by the upward thrust of lateral pressure that their broken edges have revealed what would otherwise have remained hidden in the highly heated interior.

The various strata that have been added to the earth's crust since the cooling process began affords an enticing study and, fortunately, are in abundant evidence in these up-tilted layers. A drive along the Schuykill and Wissahickon reveals a number of them; and a study of the rocks and soils of the valley prepares the mind for Professor Heilprin's statement in his *Town Geology*:

> "We are prepared to admit that above the summits of what now may be low hills, thousands of feet of rock may have at one time existed, and are less surprised to learn that,

in ages gone by, mountain peaks, rivaling, if not exceeding, the Mount Blanc in altitude, may have constituted the ancestors of the present humble elevations of Fairmount Park."

There was epochal subsidence as well as epochal elevation of the entire valley, and great eras of severe cold as well as of intense warmth and moisture. During the periods of elevation, through the combined action of wind, rain, and climatic changes, the erstwhile peaks were greatly lowered and rounded off by erosion, and the streams channeled the plains into great valleys. Together they made available, in the hills and valleys, the ores and other deposits that had been produced in the hidden recesses of the earth. The lower half of the valley was not subjected to this deep channeling, although in several places, notably at New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, the conditions were favorable for the formation of estuaries to the larger streams, and thus prepared them for navigation.

Leaping backwards in imagination through several geological epochs, we reach a period when the region south of the ledge of rocks extending northwestwardly from Washington to Sandy Hook formed part of the bed of the ocean; the land there, as we now know it, was the combined product of erosion and a gradual elevation of the coastal shelf which placed part of it above the level of the sea. In the earlier epochs the land of the upper Delaware and Schuykill regions, as it emerged from the sea, was soon covered with dense forests of mosses, ferns, and fernlike trees that were fostered by the warm and humid air which then prevailed. A varied sand-loving and mud-loving freshwater and marine life also developed in the swamps

and warm pools of water that so fully abounded. But the air was too heavily charged with carbon for lung-breathing animals to appear. As the region in one of the epochal changes again sank beneath the sea this vegetable and animal life was gradually covered over with clays, sands, and the silt of the sea, only to emerge again and be reclothed with vegetable and animal life. This process was repeated with many variations for the millions of years during which the cooling and shrinking crust of the earth was crinkled into folds and faults, and submerged and emerged, as if by the hand of a mighty giant.

Heat, pressure, and chemical action were in the meantime at work changing the swamp and pool deposits of the earlier submergences into the anthracite coal for which the hills and mountains of the Delaware and eastern Susquehanna regions are noted. Additional influences were also at work forming the great variety of rocks, soils, and minerals found in the plains, valleys, and ridges of this entire region. Most of the minerals were bred in the bowels of the earth, as were all of the rocks that are igneous in their origin, and were sent to the surface either during the great convulsions that thrust up the mountains or by some form of volcanic action; the stratified clays were the product of erosion and reveal by their color and feel the type of rock from which they came. The extent to which erosion can figure in wresting land from the sea and in laying down great beds of sand and clay is well illustrated in the estimate that the Mississippi River carries down each year sufficient soil to cover 240 square miles of surface to the depth of a foot. Dana, in his *Manual of Geology,* states that the coastline of the Middle

Courtesy, "The Evening Bulletin"

James Marshall's rifle. Now in the museum at Doylestown, Pennsylvania. Daniel Boone carried one of these famous long "Pennsylvania rifles" into the wilds of Kentucky.

This crude monument at the Wrightstown Meeting, near Bristol, Pennsylvania, was erected at the starting point of the notorious "Walking Purchase."

State Seaboard during the crustacean period was so much farther north than at present that the Delaware River, which was then in existence, emptied into the Atlant' Ocean at what is now Trenton. And when we consider the æons of time during which earth-forming forces have been at work, we need not wonder at the extent of the product even though we marvel at the ordered wisdom of the process.

The Delaware Valley has a great variety of geological products for the entertainment of the curious as well as for the satisfaction of the lovers of nature. A prominent ridge extending in an almost direct line from Chestnut Hill to Willow Grove contains some of the oldest fossil-bearing rock to be found anywhere. It is best known as "Cambrian sandstone," and is curious because it is full of cyclindrical bodies from four to six inches long and shaped very much like thin slate pencils. These cylindrical bodies are supposed to have been formed in worm burrows which gradually filled with decomposed rock substance that hardened into these long pencil-like cores. As the worms, no doubt, did their burrowing in the mud and sand on the edge of the ocean, this ridge must at one time have formed an edge of the ocean's beach. Near Conshohocken and especially at the famous "Mountain Colonnades" in the Orange Hills, New Jersey, are columnar trap rocks resembling somewhat the famous columns of the Giant's Causeway and Fingal's Cave. They have been forced up, either by volcanic action or lateral pressure, through fissures in other strata of the earth's crust. The greenish black, hard serpentine rock found in several places along the Schuykill gives out a tinkling musical sound, like fairy bells, when struck with a hammer.

They are well named "ringing rocks."[1] Sandstone conglomerates, whose substance is full of pebbles and even good-sized boulders, is found near Trenton; and in the Delaware County region of Pennsylvania these conglomerates often contain garnets of commercial value.[2]

The great marl beds to be found from Haddonfield to Glassboro in New Jersey are remarkable not only for their phosphates and variety of colors, but also for the richness of their fossil remains. One variety, "shell-marl," is composed almost entirely of fossil shells, often in layers four or five feet thick literally packed with myriads of shells, as at Mullica Hill, New Jersey. These various types of geological workmanship, together with the great slate deposits at Bangor, the great beds of cement rock found near Allentown, the anthracite coal deposits of the upper Schuykill, and the iron, zinc, and copper deposits in other places, combined with the picturesque beauty with which the streams have broken through their mountain barriers and channeled out canyons and left waterfalls and long stretches of fertile valleys of surpassing beauty—all of these reveal the prodigal hand with which nature has endowed the Valley and challenged its inhabitants to progress and a love for the beautiful as well as for the wonderful.

During these long, early, geological epochs the valley was a voiceless region, the only sounds being those produced by the breaking surf and the terrific thunder-

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[1] A fine specimen of ringing rock is on exhibition in the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia.

[2] Delaware County is known to have over forty-seven varieties of minerals, there being seven varieties of quartz alone. Cf. Smith's *History of Delaware County*, p. 414–15.

storms which must have been of daily occurrence. But then followed a long period during which strange creatures, many of them of weird and gigantic form, appeared and struggled for existence. The battles of the fiercest of these must have filled their ancient world with terrifying sounds. But man was not there to hear. The rocky ridges of the surface, which were Alpine-like in the region of the Appalachians, had to be worn down by changes of climate, terrific storms, and torrential rains into the valleys and plains that would serve as a home for him. This work was supplemented by melting ice which, during several periods of extreme cold, had moved down from the north and covered these regions to the depth of several hundred feet. During these periods of extreme cold great ice-caps had moved to within sixty miles of the northern boundary of Philadelphia. With their melting they filled the streams to overflowing, and their glaciers exercised their ability to wear down the mountains and hills that had been formed in the shrinkage of the earth's crust. These glaciers were of themselves the sources of streams; and so great was their weight, especially in their more mountainous courses, that great boulders were broken off and ground down by their moving masses into the myriad of rounded rocks and pebbles deposited at their lower terminals. But their greatest service was rendered in grinding rocky material into the fine sands which, combined with various forms of clay and organic matter, form the rich farm lands of the valleys and plains of the Delaware. The clays are formed from the softer rocks which readily decompose under the influence of moisture and the changing seasons. Most of the best organic clays

are derived from limestone which, in its cruder forms, reveals the fact that it is composed of the masses of shell life so abundant in one of the earlier geological epochs. In its more highly crystallized form, limestone has become marble.

The history of these early geologic days is occasionally enlivened by the finding of bones of the monster reptiles that inhabited the ocean and the marshy jungles of ancient times. Quite frequently the teeth and vertebra of an early form of shark are found in the region once covered by the sea. Some of these sharks were of formidable size although, on the whole, there has been less change in fishes as we know them than in other forms of animal life. True "sea serpents" roamed in the waters with bodies fifty to sixty feet long and with huge teeth from four to six inches in length. But of all the strange forms whose remains are occasionally found in this region none quite equals that of the trachodon (*Trachodon Mirabilis*),[1] a monster reptile twenty-five to thirty feet in length with a heavy body supported by limbs of unequal lengths, like those of the kangaroo, and whose hind legs terminated in three bird-like toes. That they were in some respects allied to such large birds as the ostrich and the emu is indicated by their skull bones which show that the head must have been from four to five feet in length and that it ended in a flattened-down, spread-out form something like the bill of a duck. The jaws probably had no less than two thousand teeth, arranged in several rows, and whose structure indicates that the trachodons lived on the vegetation of their day. A recent discovery in a

[1] A restored specimen of which is in the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia, under the name of a *Hadrasaurus*.

marl pit near Glassboro attests the fact that there were other giant reptiles in the region ages before the appearance of man; and the unearthing of the trunk of a giant tree of the ancient days, which was imbedded some thirty feet below the surface in a red sand formation and discovered while excavating for the Eighth Street Subway in Philadelphia, gives promise of other revelations of the past that are to follow.

What a weird world these strange forms of animal and vegetable life must have presented at the first appearance of man. The earliest evidence of his appearance is found in the rude stone implements, or their fragments, that have been found in the pebble beds at Trenton as well as elsewhere in the Valley of the Delaware. As these correspond to the chipped paleoliths left by man during the oldest Stone Age of Europe, they furnish good evidence of the existence of prehistoric man in the Valley. One of the strongest advocates of the force of this evidence was the late Dr. C. C. Abbott. He said:

> "Probably no other river in the United States presents as important and comprehensive a series of archæological horizons as does the Delaware, from a short distance above the tidal flow to its final merging with the sea. The reason is obvious. The terminal moraine is but about fifty miles away. From it is derived the drift of post-glacial deposits of sand and gravel that form so marked a feature of the valley southward of the extension of the ice sheet."[1]

He concluded from his researches that there had been three broad periods of prehistoric man's occupancy of the Valley of the Delaware; namely, the paleolithic, the pre-Indian, and the Indian. Of the

[1] Cf. *Arcælogia Nova Cæsaria*, by Dr. C. C. Abbott.

Indians we, of course, know a great deal, as also of the pre-Indians through the mound builders of the Mississippi Valley and the cliff dwellers of the southwest. Evidences of the feasts of paleolithic man were found by the late Henry C. Mercer in "the bone-bearing chasm" at Port Kennedy, Pennsylvania, and, in 1893, in the Durham Cave near Riegelsville, Pennsylvania. Complete jaws of the peccary were found in both places; and in the Port Kennedy "chasm" were found the remains of the saber-toothed tiger, the fossil bear, the woolly mammoth, the sloth, the ancient horse, and a large number of other animals.[1] T. D. Paret made similar discoveries at Hartman's Cave, fifty miles farther up the Delaware.[2] Since these extinct animals existed in this region where the conditions were just as favorable for early man as in other places where he is known to have been contemporary with them, there seems to be no good reason for doubting his existence in the Valley of the Delaware in the remote past.

Charles Laubach, writing in 1855, tells of mounds, trails, clearings, and abundant stone-paved fire sites found in the region extending from Riegelsville Bridge to Durham Creek, but which were destroyed by a severe freshet in 1841. These were probably the work of pre-Indian rather than paleolithic man; but whether as a race they were closely related to the mound builders is not clear. It is likely, as suggested by Major W. H. Dell in his *Tribes of the Northwest,* that they were the ancestors of the Eskimo who moved northwards with the retreating cold and the cold climate animals on which they lived. He says:

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[1] Cf. *Report of Geological Survey of Pennsylvania for 1887.*
[2] *Ibid.*

"There are many facts in American ethnology which tend to show that originally the Innuit (Eskimo) of the east coast had much the same distribution as the walrus, namely, as far south as New Jersey."

But the Eskimo is more nearly related to the mound builder as a worker in bone, and has arts that must have been unknown to paleolithic man whose implements seem to have been restricted almost exclusively to the crude paleoliths found in common with the extinct mammalia in the glacial drift of our eastern river valleys. The crude knives and spear and arrowheads of paleolithic man seem to have been made almost exclusively of argillite (metamorphosed slate), which was more easily worked into shape than the quartz and jasper used by the Indians. One of the prolific centers for the making of these argillite paleoliths seems to have been in the vicinity of Point Pleasant on the Delaware, although they are found in several other localities of the valley. Doctor Abbott refers to a human skull found some twelve feet below the surface during excavations in South Warren Street in Trenton, and also to a human leg bone (femur) found in a similar gravel deposit near Trenton some forty years ago. Remains of the woolly mammoth, the contemporary of paleolithic man, have been found in this Trenton gravel and seem to furnish a full confirmation of Doctor Abbott's conclusions.

Chapter II

INDIANS OF THE VALLEY OF THE DELAWARE

D. G. Brinton, in his valuable book, *The Lenape and Their Legends*,[1] says:

> "About the period 1500–1600 the related tribes whom we now know by the name of the Algonkins were at the height of their prosperity. They occupied the Atlantic coast from the Savannah River on the south to the strait of Belle Isle on the north. . . . East of the Alleghenies in the valleys of the Delaware, the Potomac, and the Hudson, over the barren hills of New England and Nova Scotia, and throughout the swamps of Virginia and the Carolinas, their osier cabins and palisaded strongholds, their maize fields and workshops of stone implements were numerously located."

There were many small tribes in this great group. The one with which we are at present concerned was known as the Delawares, Lenape, or Lenni-Lenapes, and they occupied the Valley of the Delaware at the time of the coming of the white settlers. Lenni-Lenape means "original people," although the western tribes called them Wapenachki or "people at the rising of the sun." This was due to the customary practice of the Indians of naming things according to some characteristic feature of the place, appearance, habit, or supposed origin of the object named.

The problems of the ethnologist are not always easy to solve nor sufficiently definite in their conclu-

[1] Published 1885.

sions to be entirely satisfying; but there seems to be sufficient evidence that the Indians found here at the time of European occupation were not the original inhabitants, although there is also much to indicate that they followed in the footsteps of the previous inhabitants. A few of the Indian tribes, such as the Illinois, the Shawnees, and especially the Lenape-Algonkins, have obscure but most interesting records pertaining to their origin and various migrations. That of the Lenape was preserved in the form of curiously notched and painted sticks which they called "Walam Olum." They are not known to be in existence now, although Rafinesque,[1] in his *History of the American Nations,* claims he discovered these stick records in Kentucky in 1822 and that he made a manuscript copy of them eleven years later. Doctor Brinton made a careful reproduction and interpretation of these for his book, *The Lenape and Their Legends.* There are many coincidences in the recital which they hieroglyphically portray that are in accord with our own more definite knowledge concerning the claims of the Toltecs and Mexican Indians as to the land from which they came. And there is also a great deal to indicate that the Indians are of Asiatic origin; that they in the remote past crossed to America by the Bering Strait; and that from there they migrated to the south and east to lands they saw to be "bright and wealthy."

According to the Walam Olum one of the leaders,

[1] C. S. Rafinesque claimed he obtained these sticks from a Doctor Ward, in Kentucky, in 1822. They are described as about six inches in length, slender, though varying in shape, and tied up in bundles. Rafinesque spent the last fifteen years of his life in Philadelphia. "He was poor, eccentric, negligent of his person, full of impractical schemes and extravagant theories." But Brinton says that there is sufficient evidence of their genuineness in the pictographic records that Rafinesque claimed were on these sticks.

"who was given to writing," notched many sticks recording the history of his people during the period that lay somewhere between 800 and 500 B.C. A century later the Lenape-Algonkins moved far eastward from the Pacific to plains where corn thrived and the buffalo roamed. Interior dissensions here split the tribe, but a number of them finally reached the Namaesi Sipu (the Mississippi). Here they fell in with the Mengwe (Iroquois), who likewise had come from a distant land and who also were in search of a desirable country which they believed lay farther to the east. But the migration of both these nations was blocked by a powerful people, the Alligewe, who inhabited the region immediately east of the Mississippi, and who attacked them when they found their numbers were so great as to be a menace. After bloody battles, which followed for many years, the Lenape and Iroquois were successful and, migrating to the east, they agreed to divide the land between them, the Iroquois taking the land in the region of the Great Lakes and the Lenape the country to the south of them. Either because of renewed dissension or because of the increase in population the Lenape, during the fifth century, again divided, many going to the "South Lands" under the names of Shawanis (Shawnees) and Nentegos (Nanticokes), the others remaining in the north. At least, so record their legends.

Heckewelder, in his recital of the ancestral traditions of the Lenape, says some of their most enterprising hunters and warriors subsequently crossed the mountains to the east on an exploring expedition, and discovered the Susquehanna which they followed to the Chesapeake Bay and finally to the sea; thence

they proceeded farther eastward through "Sassafras Land" (Pennsylvania) and discovered the Delaware; whence they continued through "Scheyichbi country" (New Jersey) until they arrived at another great river, the Hudson. Satisfied with their explorations, they returned to their people and made such favorable reports of what they had seen that the nation concluded these lands were destined for them by the Great Spirit. Accordingly, they crossed the mountains and settled on the great rivers we know as the Delaware, the Susquehanna, the Potomac, and the Hudson. The Delaware, which they chose as the center of their realm, they called "Lenape Wihittuck," the river or stream of the Lenape. Here, at Maskekitong (the "Strong falls"), now Trenton,[1] in the year 1396, according to the bead tally which they kept and from which they computed time, they fixed their headquarters under their seventy-fifth ruler, King Wolemenap. But before these events occurred, the Walam Olum shows that strife developed between the Lenape and the Iroquois and that the Lenape proved successful; although, finally, being a peacefully inclined people and unsuspicious of the ulterior motives of their enemy, they consented to give up warfare, act as mediators in all Indian controversies, and devote themselves entirely to agriculture and other peaceful pursuits. This is why the Iroquois came to call them "women" and eventually became able to exercise a tyrannical influence over them.

At the time the whites arrived there were three branches of the Lenape within the Valley of the Dela-

[1] The falls at Trenton were called in the early Dutch records the "Falls of Sanhican," the Assunpink Creek was called "Sanhican Kill," and the Indians there the "Sanhican Indians."

ware. One of these was the Minsi, or Minisinks, dwelling in the mountainous regions of the upper Delaware above the junction of the Lehigh with that river. Their hunting grounds lay on both sides of the Delaware and extended into New York. Their principal dwelling places were on the Minisink plains above the Delaware Water Gap, and on the east branch of the Delaware in New York, which they called "Fish River." Another branch was the Unami, whose territory extended from the Lehigh southward to where it met that of the third group, the Unalachtigo or Turkey Tribe, whose principal villages were on the branches of the Delaware emptying where Wilmington now stands. The numbers of this last tribe were small owing to the predatory incursions of the Susquehannocks, whose war parties frequently descended the Christiana and the Brandywine and fell upon their villages.[1] Each of these tribes had its totemic animal from which it claimed an emblematical descent and from which it inherited some characteristic quality. The Minsi had the wolf; the Unami, the turtle; and the Unalachtigo, the turkey. The Unami were accorded the highest rank because of their descent from the Great Turtle that bears the world on its back and which was the first of all living creatures. Some significant part of their totemic animal was employed by all of these tribes to represent them in their picture writing, and was often painted on their wigwams or inscribed on rocks near their dwelling places.

[1] When Captain Young explored the Delaware in 1634, they told his interpreter that the "Minquas" had killed their people, burnt their villages, and destroyed their crops, and that their tribe had left the side of the river next to their enemies and gone "farre up into the woods."

Loskiel, in his *History of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the North American Indians,* gives another tradition of the origin of the Lenape that was common among the Minsi or Wolf Tribe:

> "Among the Delawares, those of the Minsi or Wolf Tribe say that in the beginning they dwelt in the earth under a a lake, and were fortunately extricated from this unpleasant abode by the discovery which one of their men made of a hole, through which he ascended to the surface; on which, as he was walking, he found a deer, which he carried back with him into his subterranean habitation; that the deer was eaten, and he and his companions found the meat so good that they unanimously determined to leave their dark abode and remove to a place where they could enjoy the light of heaven and have such excellent game in abundance."

This tradition suggests a time when their far remote ancestors may have been cave dwellers and entitled to be numbered with primeval man.

The Lenape also had subdivisions in New Jersey, or "Scheyichbi" as they called it, but it is difficult to locate all of these with certainty. Of these tribes the Mantes lived on Salem Creek; the Ramcocks on Rancocas Creek; and the Assuncunck above Burlington. The Mantes were known to the early settlers as the "Frog Indians," and their hunting grounds extended as far north as where Burlington now stands. The region from Trenton along an Indian trail reaching to the sea at New York was occupied by the Sanhicans. The principal outdoor workshops of these Sanhicans for making the fine quartz and jasper arrow points and lance heads for which they were noted were the post-glacial gravel deposits at the falls of the Delaware at Trenton. But the total number of Indians in New Jersey in 1671 was estimated by the authori-

ties at only "about a thousand persons, besides women and children." Fifty years later they were reported as "but few, and very innocent and friendly."

The Lenape knew all the Iroquois as "Mengwe," which was corrupted by the English into "Mingo," a name given indifferently by the whites to all the Indians using the Iroquois tongue. Brinton says:

> "It is important . . . to understand that at the time of the first settlement the whole of the Susquehanna Valley, from the Chesapeake to the New York lakes, was owned and controlled by Iroquois-speaking tribes. A different and erroneous opinion was expressed by Heckewelder, and has been generally received."

He also says that all the Algonkins north of the Potomac, on the east shore of the Chesapeake, and in the basins of the Delaware and the Hudson, always claimed a common origin and near kinship, and that they were at times united for defensive purposes into a somewhat loose but effective confederacy, with the Delawares (Lenape) at its head. And the Delawares were often referred to by the other tribes under the familiar title of "Grandfather."

The Lenape were, on the whole, a peaceable people who, in addition to their hunting expeditions, had good-sized fields of Indian corn, squashes, beans, and sweet potatoes. They also raised a hardy form of tobacco which they smoked in pipes made of earthenware or stone. The pipes used on ceremonial occasions were made of a red stone, probably a "pipestone" brought from the West. The Lenape did not dwell in the communal houses that were so common with the Iroquois, but each family occupied its separate wattled hut with rounded top. These huts were covered with

mats woven from the long husks of the Indian corn, or they were thatched with stalks of the sweet flag or the bark of trees. They were built in groups and surrounded by palisades as a protection from their enemies. In the center of the village a mound of earth was sometimes constructed high enough to enable them to see over the palisades. The remains of these mounds were familiar to the early settlers, especially in the vicinity of Trenton and in the valley of the Lehigh.

Pottery for domestic use was extensively made but rarely used for decorative purposes, although they possessed great skill in the bead and feather work with which they adorned themselves. Many of their household utensils were of stone, especially of soapstone, which they shaped and hollowed out with great skill. The wood of the sassafras tree, as well as stone, was used for the mortars in which with a stone pestle they ground up maize for cooking. William Penn, who made several visits to his friends among the Indian chiefs, speaking of their domestic habits, said:[1]

> "Their houses are mats or bark of trees, set on poles in the fashion of an English barn, but out of the power of the winds, for they are hardly higher than a man. They lie on weeds or grass. In travel they lodge in the woods about a great fire, with the mantle of duffels they wear by day wrapped about them. . . . Their diet is maize or Indian corn divers ways prepared, sometimes roasted in the ashes, sometimes beaten and boiled with water, which they call hominie. They also make cakes not unpleasant to eat. They have likewise several sorts of beans and peas that are good nourishment and the woods and rivers are their larders. . . . The boys go fishing until old enough to go hunting when, after proving their manhood, by bringing in a good return

[1] See his letter to the Society of Free Traders, in 1683

of skins, they may marry at about seventeen or eighteen. The girls stay with their mothers and help to hoe the ground, plant corn, and carry burthens; and they do well to use them to that, while young, which they must do when they are old; for the wives are true servants of the husbands; otherwise the men are very affectionate. The girls marry early, at thirteen or fourteen."

Their children, he said, when born, are washed, wrapped in a clout (diaper), and laid on a straight, thin board a little more than the length and breadth of the child, on which they are fastened tightly to make them straight. This also makes it easy to carry them on their backs. "They wear only a small clout round their waists till they are big."

Paints were used extensively by the Indian men for decorating their bodies which, with the exception of the waistcloth, were naked, especially in warm weather. Red clays and white clays for these decorative purposes were found in abundance on Red Clay Creek and White Clay Creek in New Castle County, Delaware. Dyes derived from the vegetable world were also used by them for coloring such material as skins, feathers, and the quills of the porcupine. These dyes were fixed by mixing with them the juice of the wild crab apple. In describing the appearance of the Indians as he knew them, Governor Printz wrote:[1]

"They are big and strong, well-built men, paint themselves terribly in the face, differently, not one like unto the other, and go about naked with only a cloth, about half an ell broad, around the waist down about the hips."

He also adds:

"They are revengeful, clever in dealings and doings, skilled in making all kinds of things from lead, copper, and tin,

[1] See his letter to Brahe, April 12, 1643.

and also carve skilfully in wood; they are good and quick marksmen with their arrows."

To these statements William Penn adds in his letter to the Society of Free Traders in 1683:

"They are generally tall, straight, well-built, and of singular proportion; they tread softly and cleverly, and mostly walk with a lofty chin . . . . They grease themselves with bear-fat clarified; and using no defence against sun and weather their skins must needs be swarthy. Their eyes are little and black. . . . The thick lip and flat nose, so frequent with the East Indian and blacks, are not common to them; for I have seen as comely European-like among them, of both sexes, as on your side of the sea. Their language is lofty, yet narrow; but like the Hebrew in significance, full."

Penn then adds that he was endeavoring to learn their language so as to be independent of an interpreter, and expressed himself as highly pleased with their hospitality.

Opinions differed in regard to the mental and moral character of the Lenape, or "Delawares," as they finally came to be called. Both Brainerd and Zeisberger had a rather poor opinion of them after they came to know them well. The former stated they are

"unspeakably indolent and slothful. They have little or no ambition or resolution; not one in a thousand of them has the spirit of a man."

The latter spoke of their alleged bravery with contempt, and, morally, he regarded them as "the most ordinary and the vilest of savages." But we should remember that both of these men knew the Delawares only after many years of their contact with unscrupulous white traders had demoralized them with vice and rum. Their dealings with the whites in gen-

eral were not such as would foster within them the highest respect for the white man's morals. Some allowance must also be made for the feelings of missionaries whose doctrines were not as readily accepted or as deeply imbedded as they had hoped.

One of the first explorers of the Valley of the Delaware, Captain Thomas Young, in 1634, describes the Indians he then saw as "very well proportioned, well featured, gentle, tractable, and docile." William Penn became sufficiently attached to them to ask his agent, James Logan, to give them special consideration during his absence in England, a request Logan gladly fulfilled because of his own friendly feelings for them. Of their domestic life Heckewelder writes:

> "I do not believe that there are any people on earth who are more attached to their relatives and offspring than these Indians are."

And much later General William H. Harrison, who afterwards became President, wrote:

> "A long and intimate knowledge of them, in peace and war, as enemies and friends, has left upon my mind the most favorable impression of their character for bravery, generosity, and fidelity to their engagements."

Even Brainerd[1] had to admit:

> "The children learn with surprising readiness; their master tells me he never had an English school that learned, in general, so fast."

Estimates of character are always more or less influenced by personal standards and points of contact; and for the European to judge the Indian by standards that were the result of centuries of complex civilized

[1] Cf. Brainerd's *Life and Journal.*

life was just as unfair as the Indian's first impressions of the whites as "Superior Beings" was a delusion. Both had to learn to face each other with every consideration for the origin, the environment, and the ideals that are so potent in human life. Such men as William Penn and the "Friendly People" he had brought with him from across the seas, who had learned to meet these "Children of the Forest" as man to man, knew from intimate association with them that they could repay friendship with gratitude and constancy. The Indians called Penn "Onas" (brother), and the majestic figure surmounting the tower of the City Hall in Philadelphia very fittingly faces the spot where his historic meeting with them under the elm tree at Shackamaxon took place.

The religious belief of the Delawares included the worship of Light, especially as it is manifested in fire and in the sun; the deifying of the Four Winds, as typical of the cardinal points and as rain bringers; and the worship of the totemic animal. The Algonkin myth of the "Great Hare," regarded as their ancestor and which the Delawares spoke of as the "Grandfather of the Indians," was, according to Brinton, a light myth, the word for hare being the same as that for light, possibly because both the hare and light flash swiftly by. Heckewelder, Brainerd, and Loskiel all assure us in positive terms that the notion of a bad spirit, a "Devil," was wholly unknown to the aborigines and entirely borrowed from the whites. For personal assistance they appealed to their totemic animals and their personal gods, whom they also regarded as being in the form of animals. They had no images or idols excepting those of the totemic animal,

although they sometimes rudely carved the human face from wood and occasionally from stone.[1] The Delawares had two types of medicine men, one of whom devoted himself to divination, the other to healing. They were in reality the native priests who flourished on the credulity of their people and who bitterly opposed the work of the early missionaries because in it they saw the loss of their own prestige. Every religious ceremony had its accompanying dance and song. Zeisberger describes some five of these ceremonies, one of which was held in honor of "their Grandfather, the Fire."[2]

The Delawares were in the habit of burying their dead in communal graveyards. One of these, of great antiquity, was on one of the islands in the Delaware River above the Water Gap. The bodies were buried in a sitting posture and, in case of warriors, were supplied with food and weapons for the journey to the Happy Hunting Grounds. These were reached through the Milky Way, and constituted the place where their ancestors continued to dwell. The usual way of announcing to a dying person that the end was near was by saying, "You are about to visit your ancestors." Barber and Howe, in their *Historical Collections of New Jersey,* state that at Wallingboro, Burlington County, on the banks of the Rancocas, was still to be seen in 1884 the

> "tumulus formed by the graves of Indians. There they used to be brought on wickers, on men's shoulders, and were interred in sitting postures, surrounded and defended by upright wickers."

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[1] One such is to be seen embedded in the northeast wall of the house 5506 Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia.

[2] Or the hare, fire being regarded as a form of light, the word for it being the same as that for the hare.

Photo by Moyer, Trenton, New Jersey

"Barracks," Trenton, New Jersey. Built, 1759, by authority of the Legislature to quarter British and Provincial troops gathered to resist threatened attacks by the French and Indians.

These wickers were for the defense of the hillock made by the grave.

The Anglo-Saxon was too prone to regard the Indian as an inferior and as a nomad who had little or no right to the land he occupied. When land was purchased from the Indian, it was at trifling cost or was bartered for with cheap trinkets and other articles that had little relation to his real needs. And in practically all cases Indian rights were recognized more for the sake of securing their friendship or for establishing claims against rivals than as a recognition of their just ownership of the land. As the Indian's interest in the land was restricted almost wholly to its value for hunting purposes, and nature had been generous in providing such broad areas, he at first held it but lightly and was always ready to meet the white man's desire for its possession. In his ignorance of exact surveys and his eagerness for the white man's goods, especially for rum which was included in almost every early exchange, treaty boundaries often badly overlapped. Sometimes the same land was sold over and over again to different parties. This would have proved a source of more serious trouble had it not been for the relatively trifling prices paid for land and the fact that it was usually cheaper to purchase an adverse claim than to contest it in court.

But in all of this the Indian was the one who suffered the most. No page of the history of our first hundred years as a nation is quite so devoid of humanity and so filled with injustice as is the one dealing with our treatment of these first owners of the soil. Helen Hunt Jackson in her book, *A Century of Dishonor*, forcibly presents the evidence of this. Although

there were noteworthy exceptions to such treatment in some of the early doings in the Valley of the Delaware, there were here also some of the most flagrant abuses. And in these unworthy actions on the part of the white man no Indian nation suffered more than the Delawares. Goaded to siding with the French in the French and Indian War, at its close they were moved to lands on the Ohio. Even before this war they had disappeared as a nation from the Valley of the Delaware. The greed and growing numbers of the white men had been so much greater than the Red Man's readiness to adopt their ways and amalgamate with them that he was obliged to move on into the region of the Ohio.

Although some efforts were made by the government to educate the Indians and to get them to adopt farming and other occupations, the whites were both more progressive and more aggressive and, by 1817, it was deemed "advisable" by the government to make an effort to extinguish the Indian title to all lands claimed by them within the limits of the State of Ohio. The following year the Delawares who had been forced into Indiana were induced to cede all their claims to land there. By 1833 they had been pushed so far westward and the feelings for them had become so calloused that the Secretary of War congratulated the country on the fact that

> "the country north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi had been practically cleared of the embarrassment of Indian relations."

At that time there were not more than 5000 of all Indian nations left in the whole region. By the middle of the nineteenth century the Delawares as a nation

had practically disappeared, the only mention of them being in reports in regard to small bands of them who had turned their attention to cultivation of the soil. A century of contact with the white man had left only a remnant of this once powerful and friendly nation.

The Walking Purchase

One of the most disreputable events in connection with the dealings of the English colonists with the Indians was the notorious "Walking Purchase" which took place in the province of William Penn, their brother "Onas." When Penn sent over William Markham as his deputy in the summer of 1681, it was with definite instruction to make friendly treaties with the Indians. Markham accordingly made several treaties with them, one of which seems to have been for the land bounded by the Delaware on the northeast, the Neshaminy on the northwest, and which was to extend as far back into the woods as a man could walk in three days. There is a tradition[1] that Penn himself, with a number of his friends and accompanied by a number of Indian chiefs, measured off part of this by starting at the mouth of the Neshaminy and walking north along the bank of the Delaware, and that by the middle of the second day they reached the mouth of Baker's Creek; there Penn decided that this would include all the land he needed at that time and that the remainder could be marked off when needed for settlement.

> "It is said they walked leisurely, after the Indian manner, sitting down sometimes to smoke their pipes, to eat biscuit and cheese and drink a bottle of wine."

[1] Cf. Janney's *Life of Penn.*

A spruce tree was marked and a line drawn from it back to the Neshaminy, the distance covered in the day and a half being slightly less than thirty miles. This left a day and a half's journey to be walked, which under Penn's grasping heirs proved the source of serious trouble.

After his arrival on the shores of the Delaware, Penn made personal treaties with the Indians. He speaks of four of these in a letter to Henry Sewell, dated the thirtieth of the fifth month 1683: "I have made two purchases, and have two presents of land from them." But so few of these early Indian treaties were recorded that it is difficult to secure exact information in regard to them. Some of them, no doubt, were made about the time that Penn met the Indians in his famous league of friendship under the elm tree in Shackamaxon; when the pledge was made that the friendly league was to last "as long as the sun should shine and the rivers flow with water." But like other Indian nations, boundary lines with the Delawares were as generous as their hunting grounds were broad; and they at first did not seem to realize that the sale of their lands meant that they must remove from them. This of itself proved a cause of friction as population increased and the settlers began to measure off and fence in their lands. The Delawares especially were loath to move, as their villages were usually practically permanent, and they were more given to cultivating the soil near their villages for raising tobacco, maize, beans, and other vegetables than other nations that relied almost entirely upon hunting and fishing even for their winter food. Several of their most prosperous villages were located on the fertile islands of the upper Delaware,

in what was known as the Minisink region, where their women cultivated in their primitive way quite good-sized fields of Indian corn.

Penn died in 1718. Of his heirs, John, Thomas, and Richard, Thomas was said to have been "a shrewd, designing, close-fisted man."[1] During their minority in England (1718–32) large tracts of land were sold and many settlements made on land still claimed by the Indians. This was beginning to be the cause of serious complaint when Thomas Penn arrived in the Province in 1732; and when John came over in 1734, realizing that the encroachments of the whites were apt to end in an open outbreak, they met the Indians in October, 1734, in a conference at Durham, where, before 1727, a company had secured a grant of 6000 acres of land.[2]

What occurred at this conference was not made public. But presumably the subject of completing the day and a half remaining from the three-day walking purchase was considered; for another meeting with the Indians was agreed upon at which final arrangements for the walk were made. This meeting was held at Pennsbury the following May fifth. But before that meeting, and Buck says unknown to the Indians, the Penns took the precaution of having a trial walk to see what ground could be covered. This is evident from a settlement made April 12, 1775, to Timothy Smith for "Expences on travelling ye Indian Purchase £5," and also six days later £2s11 for "sundries" for the same.

Anxious to have this trial walk made before the

[1] Cf. Buck's *History of the Indian Walk.*
[2] On careful survey this tract was found to contain 8,500 acres.

Pennsbury meeting, the Penns wrote two letters to Timothy Smith, in one of which they said:

> "Let nothing be wanting to be done on this important occasion which will give great satisfaction to the Proprietary, who will generously reward you and those you employ for your care and trouble."

Timothy Smith was High Sheriff of Bucks County, and the appeal of this communication will be understood when it is remembered that the Proprietary had retained the privilege of final decision on all executive and judicial appointments. Smith was assisted in arranging for this test walk by Deputy Surveyor Joseph Chapman, of Wrightstown, and, according to his instructions, employed Joseph Doane "together with two other persons who can travel well" to do the walking. He also made a full report of "how far that day and a half traveling will reach up the country." Thomas Penn, at least, was taking nothing for granted in order to cover desirable land on the upper Delaware, thousands of acres of which had been sold to William Allen and others as early as 1728, and no doubt unknown to the Indians.

The Indians seem to have demurred at some of the evidence presented at the Pennsbury meeting, but finally agreed to accept a deed which seemed to authorize an additional walk "back into Woods as far as a man can go in one day and a half." This totally ignored a deed of release, signed September 17, 1718, by the Indians, for the land south of the Lehigh in full recognition apparently of all claims to land sold to William Penn—a fact that must have been known to the Penns. Preparations were now made for the final act. Walkers were advertised for, a prize of £5 and

500 acres of land being offered for the best (fastest) walker; trees were blazed to indicate the route; and underbrush that might impede the walkers was removed. Wrightstown, which was on a line with the spruce tree marking the end of Penn's day and a half walk, was chosen as the starting point. Here early on Monday morning of September 19, 1737, a group gathered at a large chestnut tree on the Durham Road near the Wrightstown meetinghouse, and at a given signal precisely at six o'clock James Yeates, Edward Marshall, and Solomon Jennings, who had been chosen as the walkers, started on their way. The Indians had three of their young men present who soon complained that the men ran instead of walked and that the walk should have been along the banks of the Delaware instead of the northwest course pursued. The walkers were allowed but fifteen minutes for their noon lunch and continued until six fifteen to make up even for that time. Sheriff Smith was with them to see that they made the best possible speed, with the result that Jennings soon dropped out and Marshall was scarcely able to stand at the end of the first day's walk. The young Indians were so dissatisfied with the proceedings that they refused to continue and, when application was made to the chief of a near-by village for others, he declared they had already got

> "all the best of the land and they might go to the Devil for the bad and that he would send no Indians with them."

At eight o'clock the following morning Yates and Marshall resumed the walk and continued to follow the course that had been marked out by blazed trees. Yates

soon dropped out, "lame and tired," but Marshall continued until two o'clock, thus completing the eighteen hours from the time of starting. By that time the party had reached what was known as Broad Mountain, sixty-six miles from their starting point at Wrightstown—a distance possible only because of the long, swinging stride of a frontiersman and the greatest of endurance. Here five chestnut trees were marked with the Proprietaries' initials and the year 1737 to indicate the extent of the walk.

Instead of running a line directly eastward from the end of the walk to the Delaware, the Penns had their surveyor run a line at right angles to the northwesterly course that had been followed, thus taking in the rich Minisink region they coveted and which was so dear to the hearts of the Indians. Even though there had been a growing dissatisfaction on the part of the Indians because of the way in which they were being pushed out of their lands, the iniquitous proceedings of this "Walking Purchase," as it was conducted by the Penns, was a prime factor in breaking the league made with their father, which was to endure as long as the sun shone and the waters flowed. The savage instincts of the Delawares also were loosed thereby and they were easily persuaded to side with the French in the developing crisis with the English; and "many an innocent mother and child paid the penalty with their lives."

As the Delawares refused to yield peaceable possession of the land measured off by this Walking Purchase, the Proprietors appealed to the Six Nations (the Iroquois) who took the opportunity at a conference held in Philadelphia, at which many Delawares were present,

Courtesy, Roydon L. Hammond

Zwaanendael House, Lewes, Delaware. Modeled after the Town Hall of Hoorn, Holland, from which the DeVries colony set sail, 1631. Statue of DeVries surmounts the front. Erected by the State of Delaware, 1932.

further to humiliate them by publicly calling them "women" and upbraiding them for presuming to sell land without their permission.[1] This completed the alienation of this once friendly nation and started them on their savage course of revenge. In justification of their course one of their most influential Sachems, Tedyuscung, "the last king of the Delawares,"[2] insisted that the Proprietors had defrauded them of great quantities of their best lands by this walk and that the deed which authorized it was a forgery. The whole matter created such a stir in the colonies that Franklin, who had little love for the Penns, went to England and laid the matter before Parliament. An investigation was held in 1757 which was not at all favorable to the course of the Proprietors. Public opinion was also strongly against them, as is evident from a letter written to Thomas Penn by Richard Peters, December 11, 1756, in which he affirmed that seven eighths of the Society of Friends

> "are determinately your enemies—the Delawares would never have taken up the hatchet against the Province, if the Proprietors had done the Indians justice—that Mr. Thomas Penn knew they complained of that scandalous

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[1] Cf. Colden's *History of the Five Nations*, p. 77, for the insulting speech of one of the Iroquois Sachems.

[2] One of the most remarkable of the Delaware chiefs was Tedyuscung, "the last king of the Delawares." Although he took up the tomahawk on the side of the French when the French and Indian War broke out, he later was persuaded to a more friendly attitude through several treaties signed at Easton and in which he took a prominent part. He was then allowed to spend the winter of 1757–58 at Bethlehem, where he built a lodge and held royal court. In the spring of 1758 he located at a place a little below Wilkes-Barre which received the name of "Tedyuscung's town." Here while asleep, probably from intoxication, for he was a great consumer of rum, he was burned to death in a fire that destroyed his lodge April 19, 1763.

Walk, and instead of pacifying them, set their Uncles, the Six Nations, against them."[1]

That the Delawares were quite ready to repay friendship and fair treatment with gratitude is shown in their relations with Penn and the friendly people he brought with him. At his death they sent a touching message of sympathy to his widow, accompanied by a gift of beautiful skins "to protect her," they said, "while passing through the thorny wilderness without her guide."

Their response to the sincere efforts of the Moravians in their behalf also indicates that they were exceptionally responsive to sympathetic treatment. How different the story might have been if their white brethren had treated them as human beings with inherent rights and possibilities instead of as savages to be exploited and driven out, is, of course, only a matter of conjecture. But, in any case, their native rights to the soil and their human rights to be understood and treated fairly placed a burden of responsibility on the shoulders of the white men, with their superior material and spiritual equipment, which ought not to have been dealt with so cavalierly. And Miss Jackson might well have taken in the whole story and enlarged the title of her forceful book to More than Two Centuries of Dishonor, instead of *A Century of Dishonor*—for the cruel work of expulsion and extermination began early in the seventeenth century and continued well past the middle of the nineteenth.

[1] Even though the Indians in revenge burned Marshall's home and carried off his wife, whom they killed and scalped, owing to her inability to keep up with their rapid travel, he always maintained that the Delawares were grossly wronged by the Proprietors. He also claimed that when he applied for his reward he was offered £5 but was refused the 500 acres of land; hence, indignantly declining the offer he never received anything for his walk.

Chapter III

ARRIVAL OF EUROPEANS ON THE DELAWARE

In at least one respect the Hudson is the younger sister of the Delaware. On the twenty-eighth day of August, 1609, Henry Hudson entered and explored the mouth of the Delaware, whereas it was the evening of the third of September, or six days later, before his vessel, the *Half Moon,* cast anchor within the waters of Sandy Hook. In the curious chronicle "Purchas, His Pilgrimage," there are recorded four voyages made by this enterprising Englishman, although none of them was made for his own country. Purchas says that:

> "Anno, 1607, April the nineteenth," Hudson with his hardy crew "purposed to goe to sea foure days after, for to discover a passage by the North Pole to Japan and China."

A shorter water route to these countries than by the way of Cape of Good Hope was so much desired for purposes of trade that when this voyage failed, Hudson was sent out by the same trading company, the "Muscovy," on a second voyage the next year. But this also resulted in failure, owing to the floating ice encountered, and the Muscovy company gave up the effort. Undaunted, Hudson turned to the East India Company, which was deeply interested in the same problem, and persuaded them to equip him for a third voyage. This voyage is of special interest to us because, through

a fortunate change of route, he discovered the Delaware and the Hudson while endeavoring to find a waterway that would lead through to India.

Hudson left Amsterdam April 4, 1609, in the *Half Moon*, a small vessel of but eighty tons burden, and again essayed an eastern route by the seas north of Europe. But the ice and severe weather caused his motley crew of some sixteen or eighteen Dutch and English sailors to quarrel and complain to such an extent that he turned the prow of the *Half Moon* toward America, where, in the latitude of 40° N., his friend, Captain John Smith, had told him was a region well worth exploring and whose waters might lead westward to India. His course led him to the banks of Newfoundland whose value as fishing grounds was evidently already known, for Purchas says he fell in with "a great fleet of Frenchmen which lay fishing on the banke," and where he allowed his own sailors to "try" for cod. By the twelfth of July he had reached the coast of Maine where his lawless crew made an unwarranted attack on a party of Indians. Alarmed, he put to sea and did not approach the shore until he reached Cape Cod. Finding no opening there, he reëmbarked and next landed at the mouth of the James River; but, resisting the temptation to visit his friend, Capt. John Smith, he turned northward and on the twenty-eighth of August discovered the great estuary that afterwards received the name of Delaware Bay. Convinced by his soundings that this was not the great westward waterway that he sought, he coasted to the north and on the third of September reached Sandy Hook. From there he entered and sailed up the Hudson until convinced that this also was not the passage he sought. On his fourth

and last voyage he lost his life while exploring the great bay that bears his name.

The trade with India had proved so profitable that Hudson's favorable reports in regard to America aroused no active interest on the part of the East India Company until in 1620 when, under a new trading company known as the Dutch West India Company, Capt. Cornelis Jacobsen Mey of Hoorn, in the ship *Blyde Bootschap,* sailed into the bay which the English by that time had named after Lord de La Warr who, while governor of the Jamestown colony of Virginia, had visited it in 1610. Mey explored the bay and the lower reaches of the river, where he found "some new and fruitful lands." Returning three years later, 1623, with a small colony under the leadership of David Pietersen De Vries, they started a settlement and built a fort for its protection at what is now Gloucester City, but which they called "Fort Nassau" in honor of the family that had done so much to secure and maintain the independence of the United Netherlands. The fort and settlement have long since disappeared;[1] but the authorities are well agreed that they stood on what came to be called "Gloucester Point," the Indian name for which was Arwamis or Hermaomissing. Mickle in his *Reminiscences of Old Gloucester,*[2] says:

> "Some of the cabins which constituted the town of Nassau (Gloucester) are supposed with much reason to have stood near the mouth of the Sassackon.[3] Remains of buildings have been discovered upon the east bank of that stream; and a peculiar little blue flower which the farmers call 'the Dutch flower' still grows thereabouts."

[1] They may, therefore, justly be listed as the earliest of the "lost towns of Gloucester County."

[2] Published 1845.

[3] The Indian name for the Little Timber Creek.

Although both Acrelius and Vanderdonck state that the settlement was destroyed by the Indians, it probably was renewed because of its importance in establishing the Dutch claim to the regions of the Delaware, or "South River," as it was called to distinguish it from the Hudson, or "North River."

Whales seem at that period to have roamed as far south as the Delaware, and De Vries succeeded in securing the interest of Samuel Godyn, Samuel Blommaert, and the rich patroon, Van Renssalaer of New Netherlands, in forming a settlement at the western mouth of the bay with whaling as one of its important industries. Grants of land were secured and a colony, fully equipped with cattle, implements of husbandry, grain and seeds, as well as an equipment for whaling, was sent out by them. In May, 1631, this colony built "Fort Oplandt" on the north side of a stream which, in honor of the town in Holland from which the settlers came, was named the Hoornkill. The fort stood on or very near the site of the present town of Lewes, Delaware. But the leader of the colony, Giles Osset, soon gained the enmity of the Indians who massacred the settlers and destroyed the fort. However, the Dutch used the place as a trading post, and in 1662 started a second settlement there. This was made by Cornelis Plockhoy who, with twenty-three of his Moravian brethren, was employed to carry on trading, fishing, etc., in "Zwaanendael" or the Valley of the Swans, a name given to the locality because of its abundance of wild geese. The settlement they formed was a communal one and, being founded on their religious belief of sharing all things in common, had a fair chance of success; but within two years, during

the war between England and the Netherlands, Sir Robert Carr appeared with an English fleet and, according to his own boastful statement, destroyed the settlement made by Plockhoy "to a very naile."

A good idea of the valley of the lower Delaware, as the early explorers found it, is given in the following two accounts. De Vries, who had settled in New Amsterdam (New York), spent the winter of 1632–33 exploring the Delaware and pronounced it:

> "a fine country, in which many grapevines grow wild."

He adds:

> "Shot many wild turkeys, weighing from thirty to thirty-six pounds. Their great size and very fine flavor are surprising."

This description was well added to by the more careful explorer, Capt. Thomas Young, who visited the Delaware the next year, July to October, 1634. He said:

> "The river aboundeth with beavers, otters, and other meaner furrs. . . . I think few rivers of America have more. . . . The soyle is sandy and produceth divers sorts of fruits, especially grapes, which grow wild in great quantities. The earth being fruitful is covered over with woods and stately timber, except only in those places where the Indians had planted their corne. The countrey is very well replenished with deere and in some places store of Elkes. The low grounds of which there is great quantitie excellent for meadowes [for pasturage] and full of Beaver and Otter. The quantity of fowle is so great as hardly can be believed, wee tooke at one time 48 partriches together, as they crossed the river chased by wild hawkes—there are infinite number of wild pidgeons, blackbirds, Turkeys, Swans, wild geese, ducks, Teales, widgins, brants, herons, cranes, etc., of which there is so great abundance, as that

the rivers and creekes are covered with them in winter. Of fish heere is plentie, but especially sturgeon."

These reports and the success of the Dutch traders in America finally began to attract more attention in Europe. Among others, William Usselinx of Antwerp became interested and endeavored to form a Dutch Company for purposes of trade and settlement. Failing in this he went to Sweden and secured from "the Lion of the North and Defender of the Faith," Gustavus Adolphus, valuable trade concessions, although at the time this ruler was so deeply involved in the struggles of the Thirty Years' War that he could give no further attention to the plan. After his death, however, his daughter Christina, who had succeeded him, listened to similar plans presented by Peter Minuit who had been governor of New Netherlands and therefore knew something about the advantages of the lands on the South River. Sending him out with a mixed colony of Swedish and Dutch settlers, he entered the Delaware and finally selected a site for his venture on the high ground of a branch of that stream. Here, at a natural "wharf of stones" which later came to be known as "The Rocks," Minuit erected a fort and began a settlement. In honor of the Queen they were named respectively "Fort Christina" and "Christinaham." This was in 1638 and the beginning of what later developed into the the city of Wilmington.

From this time on Europeans began to arrive in increasing numbers and established scattered settlements along both sides of the Delaware. Settlements were also made on the lower part of the stream that the Swedes called the "Linde Kiln" because of the great

number of linden trees growing on its banks, but which the Dutch named "the Schuylkill" because the growth on the low islands at its mouth so concealed it that it was not easily recognized as the opening to an important river.[1] But many of these first arrivals were traders or mere adventurers more interested in improving their fortunes than in forming permanent settlements. There was consequently a lack of permanency and a moving about from place to place on the part of these first settlers that makes it far more difficult to decide upon dates and places than is true of the later and more definitely purposed arrivals. However, Queen Christina had in mind not only the establishment of settlements on the Delaware but also the more ambitious purpose of making the region a Swedish dependency. For the furtherance of these plans she sent out John Printz with a strong force of additional settlers and with full instructions for the occupation and government of the entire South River region. When Printz arrived in 1643, instead of remaining at Christinaham, he decided to locate farther up the river, and finally chose Tinicum Island for the seat of his government. Here he built a fort, a chapel, and a fine mansion for himself which stood until the year 1800 when it burned to the ground.

From Tinicum and Fort Christina as centers, scattered Swedish settlements soon dotted both sides of the lower Delaware and also were established on the lower part of the Schuylkill, where on one of its branches (Cobb's Creek) Governor Printz had built in 1643 the first gristmill in Pennsylvania. The Swedes were

[1] *Schuil* in the Dutch language meant concealed or hidden and *kil* means a stream; hence, Schuylkill means a concealed or hidden stream.

principally farmers, although they were also rivals of the Dutch in their trading posts. Even as early as 1645, Andreas Hudde, who represented the Dutch interests on the Delaware, reported that the Swedes had scattered plantations all the way from Fort Christina to near Tinicum Island, and that they had a fort or trading house at the mouth of the Schuylkill and another at Kingsessing. In 1653 Queen Christina, over her own signature, gave Sven[1] Schute the part of the land where Philadelphia now stands. The Indians called it "Coaquannock" and it included not only what is now the center of the city but also the parts later known as Moyamensing, Wicaco, and Passyunk. This land came into the possession of the Swensens, from whom Penn secured it. Although, on account of the swamp land, there were no settlements on the banks of the Delaware from Tinicum to the mouth of the Schuylkill, Olaf Stille, Andreas Boone, and Morton Mortensen quite early settled on the firmer ground farther inland. Peter Cock in 1669 owned the ground between Bow Creek and the Schuylkill; Lars Coleman, Pell Laersen, and Peter Ericksen in 1677 received a patent for 300 acres near the Falls of Schuylkill; and Israel Helm a patent for 200 acres "up the river" about the same time.

Several of the Swedish plantations must have been on the site of what is now Chester prior to 1648; for the Rev. John Campanius, who had accompanied Printz as pastor of his colony and missionary to the Indians, returned to Sweden that year and left a description of the Swedish settlements on the Delaware which says it, "Mecoponacka" or "Upland" (Chester),

[1] Lieutenant.

was an unfortified place with some houses built there. The creek that flows through Chester was then known as the "Upland-kill"; and Printz' daughter, Armgard Papegoya, had already received as a present from the Queen the land on its southwestern side, where, in 1662, she lived in a house probably erected some years prior to that date. There may have been other houses near her home, for it is referred to in the records as "Printzdorf" or Printz' village.[1] Printzdorf became a part of Upland, a name for Chester which appears as early as 1644 in a report made by Governor Printz to the "Noble West India Company in Old Sweden," stating that besides Christina, Tinicum, and Elfsborg he had occupied Upland and the Schuylkill with "strong wooden houses," no doubt used as trading posts. He says they each had "small stone cannon," although they were not otherwise fortified.

Tobacco raising must have been one of the important occupations in the Upland locality, for Printz reports that he had twelve persons employed there, one of them being "Elias the tobacco planter." The settlement at Upland must have attained some importance by 1672, for that year a court was authorized there under the title of "the court of Upland."[2] The "strong wooden house" built in order to occupy the Schuylkill was strengthened and named Fort Korsholm. It probably stood on Fisher's Island at the mouth of the Schuylkill, although Acrelius places it on the mainland in Passyunk.[3] Printz also built a fort at the mouth of

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[1] Cf. Beekman's report of September 14, 1662 in *Hazard's Annals*, p. 339.
[2] Cf. *General Entries*, IV, p. 184, in the office of the Secretary of State, Albany, N. Y.
[3] Cf. Albert Cook Myers' *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware.*

Salem Creek, as an outpost where alien vessels attempting to ascend the river could be challenged. He named it "Fort Elfsborgh," although its occupants soon nicknamed it "Mosquito Fort" because of the swarms of such insects that infested it.

Printz was a man of such large size and able to consume such quantities of liquor that the Indians had a name for him which meant "the big tub." He is said to have weighed over four hundred pounds and to have had a temper which soon got him into violent disputes with the Dutch commissary, Andreas Hudde. Hudde had been sent by Governor Stuyvesant to represent the Dutch claims to the Delaware because of Hudson's discoveries and the occupation of the region by the settlement at Fort Nassau in 1623. Upon his arrival frequent clashes with Governor Printz were inevitable, for both of them were energetic and determined. However, most of their quarrels were of a petty character, as neither of them was permitted to assume an offensive that would involve the mother countries which, prior to 1648, had been allies in the European struggles.

The Dutch seem to have had a "house" (trading post) at the mouth of the Schuylkill which was destroyed by the Swedes when they built Fort Korsholm. Hudde, having secured the favor of the Indians, then erected a fort on the Schuylkill which he named "Fort Beversreede" because of its favorable location for commanding the Indian trade in beaver skins.[1] To prevent its destruction by the Swedes he surrounded it with palisades. But while he was absent in Man-

[1] It is believed to have stood on the south side of the Schuylkill near the present site of Gray's Ferry bridge.

hattan the Swedes committed the indignity of building a "house" between it and the Schuylkill, "whereby," Hudde complained, "access to that fort was effectually closed." But this was not all: A Swede named Peter Jochim, "by way of contempt, forcibly tore off by night and broke through the palisades of Fort Reede [Beversreede]"; and by way of adding insult to injury the Swedes also committed the unprecedented act of planting corn around the fort, so that Hudde had to report "we have not near the fort as much land that we can make a little garden in the spring."

But more serious troubles were brewing. Sweden had developed into a serious commercial rival of Holland. In order to strengthen the Dutch position on the Delaware, Hudde had, in 1651, built a fort at "Sandhoek," a sandy point of land a few miles south of the mouth of the Christina. In the vicinity of this fort, which he named Fort Casimir, sprang up a Dutch settlement that at first was known both as "Sandhoek," and as "Fort Casimir." By this time, owing to the neglect of the home government, Swedish affairs on the Delaware had reached such a low ebb that the inhabitants petitioned Governor Stuyvesant to permit them to come under the jurisdiction and protection of the West India Company. But Queen Christina, becoming alarmed for her American interests, appointed Johan Rysingh in Printz's place and to encourage Swedish settlements offered, in 1654, "the privilege of allodial nobility for himself and heirs, with perpetual possession" to anyone who might take up land and settle in "New Sweden," the name by which the Delaware region was known to the Swedes. Determined to end Dutch influence on the Delaware, Rysingh set sail

from Sweden in a man-of-war with which he appeared before Fort Casimir on Trinity Sunday, 1654, and, after firing two "salutes," demanded its surrender "as erected on Swedish ground." Being unprepared, Lieutenant Schute surrendered with the understanding that the Dutch soldiers would be permitted to retain their personal belongings. The capture having occurred on Trinity Sunday, the name of the fort as well as the settlement was changed to "Fort Trinity."

In retaliation for this act, which Stuyvesant reported had been committed without "any previous summons or announcement of any differences or war," he at once began secretly to prepare for regaining control of the Delaware. As he had heard that Fort Trinity (Fort Casimir) had been greatly strengthened by the Swedes, he set sail from Manhattan with a fleet of seven armed ships and between 600 and 700 men; and on the thirtieth of August, 1655, appeared before Fort Elfsborgh, which he found the Swedes had abandoned after their capture of Fort Casimir. On the next day the fleet appeared before Fort Trinity which promptly capitulated, Rysingh with thirty of his men having retreated to Fort Christina. Here Rysingh put up a vigorous defense, but by the fifth of September was compelled to surrender, although as a salve to their pride it was agreed that:

> "Governor Johan Risingh with all officers of high and low rank, ministers and soldiers shall march out with beating of drums, playing of fifes, flying banners, burning matches, musketballs in their mouths,[1] hand, and sidearms."

[1] This was in the days of the matchlock musket and before cartridge boxes were invented.

Both Governor Rysingh and the historian, Campanius, asserted that Stuyvesant's troops not only destroyed Christinaham but also acted most wantonly in destroying crops, burning houses, killing cattle, and abusing women and children in such other Swedish settlements as Upland and Tinicum. As Bancroft estimated that at this time there were only about 700 persons in the Valley of the Delaware who acknowledged Swedish rule, the terror aroused by 600 or 700 troops let loose upon them, in the days when looting was regarded as one of the perquisites of the soldier, can be somewhat appreciated. It is not easy for us to conceive of Printz, and Hudde, and Stuyvesant as heroic characters, nor of many of the events with which they were associated with other than a sense of humor; but it all represented serious business to them and to the inhabitants for whose welfare they were responsible; and, considering the times and the conditions under which they had to work, few of us probably would have done as well. At all events, Swedish rule and Swedish hopes in the Valley of the Delaware were blasted by what Stuyvesant did, although Swedish influence there at a time when it was badly needed was greater than we are apt to realize.

With the conquest of the valley by the Dutch, Fort Trinity again became Fort Casimir and the name of the town was changed to "New Amstel," a name it continued to bear until the English secured possession and called it at first "Delaware Town" and then later gave it the name of "New Castle," which it has borne ever since. With the conquest by the Dutch, Fort Christina became Fort Altina, but the small settlement near it continued for some time to be known

as Christinaham or Christina Harbor. But Dutch rule itself ended in 1664. Holland which, during this early period, was mistress of the seas was also England's most successful rival in trade. But, during the Protectorate in England and before the death of Cromwell in 1658, the Dutch supremacy on the high seas was overthrown; and to cripple the Dutch trade Parliament in 1660 passed the Navigation Acts which permitted trade with English colonies only in English ships. Charles II, who succeeded to the English throne, was persuaded that these Navigation Acts could not be fully enforced while the Dutch held any control in America. Instead of first declaring war on Holland, he secretly fitted out an expedition which in 1664 appeared before New Amsterdam and compelled its surrender. Except for a brief period (1673–74) when the Dutch recaptured the place, Holland's rule in America was thus ended. In fact, the superior interest of the Dutch in the East Indies soon led them to release all their claims to territory in America in exchange for the island of Surinam.

New Netherlands was then granted by the King to his brother James, Duke of York; the name of New Amsterdam was changed to New York; and Richard Nicolls, who had come over in charge of the fleet, became governor. These acts affected the Valley of the Delaware because a fleet in charge of Sir Robert Carr was sent at once to seize Fort Casimir and secure control of the entire Delaware region. By this act the Duke entirely disregarded Lord Baltimore's claims to the lands on the western side of the Delaware Bay, a fact further emphasized when he sold that land to William Penn. Carr's force was so strong that he had

little difficulty in capturing Fort Casimir and the town connected with it, the name of which was promptly changed to New Castle. "The Duke of Yorke's Laws," which in most respects excepting in their lack of provision for self-government were good, were established for the rule of the region. New Castle was made the center of authority and given a court for the transaction of all judicial business. But Carr

> "confiscated property for his private use and that of his son and friends; he shipped the Dutch soldiers to Virginia to be sold into servitude; and he rifled people's houses, carrying away everything of value, even to the wearing apparel."[1]

Hence, Governor Nicolls found it necessary to follow him to the Delaware and make him disgorge his ill-gotten gains, although his son, Capt. John Carr, was left in command of the district.

In addition to the hardships and anxieties attending these changes of government and the wilderness conditions with which they were surrounded, these early settlers were often brought to the verge of despair by sickness and failing food supplies. The Swedes and Dutch chose the lowlands along the streams and paid the penalty in malaria and scourges of mosquitoes. Governor Printz reported that during the first year at Tinicum, out of a population of 121, two officers, five soldiers, and thirteen laborers, or a total of twenty were carried off by death. In addition to this, two soldiers and three laborers were killed by the Indians and one man, a Finn, was drowned in Upland Creek. This condition was aggravated by a lack of proper food and the unfavorable fact that, with the exception of twenty-three "freemen" who had volun-

[1] Cf. Fiske's *Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America*, II, p. 4.

tarily come with Printz, the remainder were soldiers or "forest-destroying" Finns "captured" for the colony. One of the soldiers was a young man who, because he had cut down six apple trees in the royal orchard, was allowed "to choose between hanging or going to America with wife and children." Although conditions improved speedily with the Swedes who were good farmers and wisely began at once to cultivate the soil, conditions for some time remained in a precarious state for the Dutch, who were much more interested in trade.

Jacob Alrichs, who in 1656 was made director of affairs at New Amstel (New Castle), had a great deal of trouble with "runaways," especially of soldiers and persons bound out to labor. A New England ship captain, who spent two weeks at New Amstel, stated that while he was there "about 50 persons, among them whole families, run away from there to Virginia." He attributed this to the "too great preciseness" of Alrichs' control, although sickness and a general lack of prosperity probably had more to do with it. Alrichs complained of sickness in his own family and stated that

> "a fever or other disease prevails here very much, so that hardly a family is free from it."

There was also great suffering from the lack of food; and Alrichs frequently urged Stuyvesant to send supplies of grain, peas, and bacon. The winter of 1658–59 was long and severe and the distress so great that a general day of fast and prayer was arranged for. The conditions were aggravated by the arrival of some 500 additional immigrants "who had brought nothing worth while with them." In regard to the Dutch who had settled in New Amstel before his arrival, Alrichs

said they "have as yet in our time not gathered one skepel of grain."

Fort Christina was temporarily abandoned after its capture by the Dutch and in 1657 was reported as:

> "somewhat tumbled down, as no garrison has been there for quite a while, they [the soldiers then sent there] were therefore somewhat embarrassed and in need of shelter for their persons and the small quantity of provisions."

However, Christinaham, the settlement near the fort, evidently was not abandoned for charges made against Jean Paul Jacquet, who had been in charge there, were investigated by Alrichs and reported by him on May 8, 1657, as having "more passion than reason" back of them. Altogether, under the rule of the Dutch trading companies, the colonies on the Delaware did not prosper. Their policies were too arbitrary and too mercenary. They were more interested in immediate pecuniary gain than in the more remote though surer success and prosperity coming from stable settlements. Under these conditions many of their colonists removed to Maryland and Virginia where the government was not so mercenary and hedged in by regulations unsuited to the primitive American conditions. Ferris says:[1]

> "The people were discouraged and indolent and the lands that naturally were so fruitful lay waste and neglected. The manners of the people were rude and unpolished, education was not promoted, the standard of morals was low, and the population, which had been gradually augmented under the Swedish dominion, had increased but little under that of the Dutch."

Nor was Governor Rysingh too well pleased with some of the later arrivals among the Swedes, a good

[1] Cf. Ferris' *Original Settlements on the Delaware.*

part of them he said being lazy and unwilling Finns. Acrelius in his *History of New Sweden* spoke with disparagement of all of his countrymen who had come to America. He accuses them of lacking in enterprise because they settled down on small farms which they cultivated in a primitive way and with which they were content. But they knew how to dyke and drain the meadow lands as pasturage for the large herds of cattle they soon possessed, and on the higher grounds they raised surplus crops of wheat, corn, and tobacco which they sold to others. As farmers they were more stable, when located, than traders and adventurers seeking quick roads to wealth, and almost from the beginning were prosperous and happy. By the time Penn arrived, their lands were commanding the highest prices and their reputation for sterling qualities attracted his favorable comment. The difficulty of locating some of their early holdings is accounted for partly because deeds had to be recorded in Sweden and the several changes of government on the Delaware led many of the Swedes to rely upon the squatter's assumed rights of possession. Then, too, the Dutch when they obtained possession destroyed local records, and after 1664 the English found little response to their order to have all deeds presented for exchange for new ones bearing the government's seal.

But education among the Swedish colonists was not maintained up to the standard of the mother country, and in superstition and credulity they stood no higher than the average folk of their day. Although at the time of the first settlements in America there were whole communities in Sweden where it was counted "as a monstrosity that a boy or girl of ten or eleven

Courtesy, Roydon L. Hammond

Monument at landing place of first Swedish settlers in America at "The Rocks," Wilmington, Delaware. They were sent out under Peter Minuit to realize Queen Christina's dream of territorial and religious conquest.

Courthouse, New Castle, Delaware. Section on the right, built about 1676, was the scene of the feudal recognition of Penn's proprietorship of "the three lower counties on the Delaware." Its cupola was the center for the twelve-mile radius defining the northern boundary of Delaware.

years can not read a book," yet ignorance in their American settlements was common, especially among the type of unwilling emigrants who were held to service in most of the Swedish colonies. And credulity and superstition were quite common even among otherwise well-educated persons like Campanius, who recorded such marvels as at Cinnaminson, where he says:

> "In this place grows the *fish tree,* which resembles boxwood, and *smells like raw fish.* It cannot be split; but if a fire be lighted, it melts away."

In regard to the Delaware River he says:

> "Its shores are alive with a large and horrible serpent which is called a rattle snake, which has a head like that of a dog, and can bite off a man's leg as clear as if it had been hewn down with an ax."

There were also sea spiders there:

> "They have many feet, and *their tails are half an ell long,* and made like a three-edged saw, with which the hardest trees may be sawed down."

Centuries of dependency in their European homes had done little to prepare either Dutch or Swedes in the self-initiative necessary to meet the conditions inherent in new and unsettled lands; their tendency was to settle on the meadow lands along the banks of the streams, where the forests did not present such a formidable front, but where malaria and other enervating diseases lurked; but, above all, their poverty and lack of training in community self-government at first seriously operated against the complete success of these early arrivals. But out of it all finally emerged a thrifty, God-fearing stock which has formed an exceptionally dependable element in our American life.

Chapter IV

THE ARRIVAL OF THE QUAKER AND OTHER ENGLISH IMMIGRANTS

The influence of the Dutch West India Company, combined with Swedish occupancy, was sufficient to prevent the English from gaining a permanent foothold on the Delaware before 1664, although several abortive attempts by New Englanders were made prior to that time. The visionary scheme of Sir Edmund Ployden (or Plowden) to found a principality in the Valley of the Delaware to be known as "New Albion," and of which he was to be "Earl Palatine," evidently was restricted to his own fertile brain although he does seem to have secured, in 1632, a grant of a certain "Isle Plowden" and forty leagues of the adjacent mainland which was named in the charter "New Albion." Investigation has shown that during the seven years he claimed to have spent in America developing his project with the assistance of his friend and follower, Robert Evelin, his time was spent in durance for his own misdemeanors. His claims and plans are interesting, however, as a reminder of the hold that chivalry still retained on the minds of men and because defensive armor was still relied upon where nothing more powerful than spears and bows and arrows had to be met. The traditional equipment of Miles Standish and his little band of warriors had its counterpart in the fact that, after the disastrous Indian

attack in Virginia in 1622, the king sent armor from the Tower of London for the use of the colonists, the city of London also contributed some, "and St. John of Basing contributed sixty coats of mail."[1]

The Duke of York's charter gave him not only the privileges of government, through laws and regulations he might establish provided they did not conflict with the "Laws of the Realm," but also absolute possession of the territory of New Netherlands, which at that time included all of what is now New Jersey and which he assumed included also the Dutch settlements on the Delaware. Being in need of funds, he sold the lands of New Jersey to Sir George Carteret and Lord Berkeley with all the rights of governing the same. Carteret at the time was governor of the Channel Islands, with his home on the island of Jersey. As he was an enthusiastic colonizer and at once took up his residence in his new possessions, the province was soon popularly known as "New Jersey" although in the Duke's grant it was called "Nova Caesarea," the Latin name of the island of Jersey. Lord Berkeley made no effort to form settlements and within ten years sold his interests in New Jersey for £1000 to John Fenwick who was serving as the agent of Edward Byllinge. Byllinge's finances soon became so involved that his interests were placed in the hands of William Penn, Gawen Lawrie, and Nicholas Lucas as trustees. In 1676 an agreement was reached whereby the province of New Jersey was divided into two parts by a diagonal line running from Little Egg Harbor to the north-

[1] An edition of the *American Farmer* stated that "Mr. Jefferson had in his possession a coat of mail that had been plowed up in a field near Jamestown, and which Mr. Jefferson supposed had belonged to some of the early settlers."

western part of the state; and because, including Carteret and Fenwick, there were five persons interested in the division, the deed signed on the occasion is known as the "Quintipartite Deed." This deed created East New Jersey and West New Jersey which soon gave rise to the convenient term, "The Jerseys."

West New Jersey, with which we are primarily concerned, had not yet been surveyed and its proprietors, instead of offering its lands for sale by "metes and bounds," adopted the unique plan of dividing it into 100 shares or "proprieties," ten of which Fenwick accepted as his equity in the original purchase by Byllinge, and ninety of which were placed on sale by Penn and the other trustees. Although there was an effort made to define by survey each of these "proprieties," it was done in the crude way followed in so many of the early surveys of large tracts—the surveyor, on horseback and with compass in hand, rode as far as he concluded from the gait of his horse was required to cover the amount of surface involved, being careful to allow a liberal surplus so that owners would be less inclined to question the accuracy of the survey, and placing the necessary survey marks as he proceeded.

Under the plan of sale adopted, instead of a deed the purchaser received a warrant for the fractional part of a designated proprietary that he had bought, the deed to be made out when the land was fully surveyed. Serious complications naturally arose when it became necessary to divide these large tracts into small fractional parts to meet the needs of the average purchaser; and actual friction soon developed from the poorly defined boundaries and the further subdivisions made necessary in the settling of estates. Dr. Daniel Cox,

a Court physician living in London, and who had secured large holdings in West New Jersey, caused further embarrassment when he sold his interests to a company organized as "The West Jersey Society." Under the terms of their purchase this society claimed governmental privileges that ignored the authority of the other proprietors. Finally all public affairs were placed in charge of a "Council of Proprietors of the Western Division of New Jersey" which, it is interesting to note, continued to hold meetings for the adjudication of claims in their building in Burlington until within recent years.[1]

Burlington

Although many of the purchasers of West New Jersey land remained in England, there were two groups of Quakers that, in order to escape persecution, decided to remove to America. One of these was from Yorkshire and was headed by Thomas Hutchinson, Thomas Pearson, Joseph Helmsley, and George Hutchinson; the other was from London and was headed by Thomas Olive, Daniel Wills, John Pennford, and Benjamin Scott. Each of these groups had purchased ten of the proprietary divisions. In 1677 the ship *Kent* sailed from London with 230 of these emigrants, including several commissioners appointed to treat with the Indians and organize a form of government for the settlements that might be made. These commissioners at once bartered with the Indians for the land on the east side of the Delaware extending from Rancocas Creek to the "St. Pink" at the Falls of the Delaware.

[1] Cf. Tanner's *The Province of New Jersey.*

The Yorkshire people chose for their "tenth" of West New Jersey a place on the Delaware which they laid out and named "New Beverly," but which later became "Bridlington" and, finally, as at present Burlington; the Londoners selected a lower "tenth" and expected to locate near where Gloucester now stands but, through fear of the Indians, finally concluded to join their friends at Burlington. In order to keep up the semblance of two separate colonies, lots were laid out on each side of the main street and the amicable plan was adopted of having Yorkshire people locate on the northern side and the Londoners on the southern. As they had arrived too late in the season to build, most of them spent the winter in the homes of friendly Swedes, although some seem to have found shelter in hastily constructed cave dwellings. In the spring of 1678 building went on apace and Burlington soon assumed importance not only as an English settlement but also as the seat of government for West New Jersey.

Salem

But the passengers on the *Kent* were not the first Englishmen permanently settled on the Delaware. John Fenwick, to whom had been assigned ten "proprieties" of West New Jersey, selected his land in the region of the Vaarkin's Kill, a small arm of the Delaware in the southern part of West New Jersey. He had been one of Cromwell's "Roundheads," but had been converted to Quakerism. A colony of persecuted Friends was gathered together and in 1675 they set sail from London in the ship *Griffith*. After a good voyage, a rich tract of land was selected a few miles from the mouth

of the Vaarkins Kill, where they began a settlement to which the name "Salem" was given as a memorial of the place in which they found peace. This name was soon also applied to the stream, and "Vaarkin's Kill" became "Salem Creek."

But affairs did not long remain peaceful for Fenwick. Feeling that he was absolute proprietor of "the Salem tenth" of the province, he not only began to dispose of the land but also to attempt to govern the territory. This brought him into conflict with the authorities at New Castle, to whom had been assigned control of the Delaware as part of the Duke of York's jurisdiction which was represented by his governor at New York. As Fenwick proved defiant, he was finally seized and sent to New York to be confined in Fort James until he revealed a proper frame of mind. It was while he was there, in 1677, that the Yorkshire and London colony appeared in the New York harbor to get the governor's permission to locate on the Delaware. Andros, who was then governor, made wary no doubt by Fenwick's attitude, at first refused to sanction the rights of government authorized by their deeds until he should have "a line from the Duke." But with Quaker persistence and the diplomacy of Friends they finally secured his permission to proceed.

Their plans for self-government were, however, soon interfered with and anxiety created even about their property rights; for the Duke with the royal unscrupulousness of his day rescinded his grant to Carteret and Berkeley, and Andros, anxious to please him, required them to recognize the New Castle control and to pay duty on everything they imported. However, this embarrassment proved but temporary; for

Penn, who was a great favorite with the Duke and had become interested by that time also in East New Jersey, persuaded him to release all his interests in the entire province. This was in 1680 and removed the anxieties of the Burlington settlers both as to their government and their holdings. Penn had prepared the plan for their government, which was unique for his day in its provisions "to put the power in the people";[1] and his experience in New Jersey affairs did much to crystallize his developing interest in the possibilities of the Valley of the Delaware as a home for the handicapped and oppressed.

The population of Burlington grew rapidly owing to the number of new arrivals, although many of these spread out into near-by territory. In December, 1678, the *Shield* brought Mahlon Stacy who, the following spring, took up land at the Falls of the Delaware and built a mill on the Assunpink in what is now the city of Trenton, where the Dutch, appreciating the advantages of the location, had built a trading post as early as 1630; in March, 1676, Thomas Rudyard and John Ridges bought the whole "tenth"[2] on the Rancocas where, because of its water power, Edward Gaskill, James Lippincott, and Samuel Brian were later to erect the mills that gave Mount Holly its early fame; in March 1681 Samuel Clift bought the large tract on the Delaware opposite Burlington where, on Mill Creek, the famous "Bristol Mills" were developed by Samuel Carpenter. Clift also established a ferry which for many years served as a connecting link between Bristol and Burlington. Thomas Farns-

[1] Stoughton's *William Penn*, p. 119.
[2] The price for a whole "tenth" was then £365. Cf. Tanner.

worth, one of the earliest arrivals at Burlington, in April, 1681, acquired land on Crosswick and Black Creeks where Bordentown with its royal resident, Joseph Bonaparte, came into being; and about the same time settlements began to reach out toward the locality made famous by the romance of Elizabeth Haddon and John Estaugh, although Haddonfield possesses many other claims to public notice.

The general region now occupied by Camden and near-by places also had an early start. Charles S. Boyer, in his *Annals of Camden,* mentions the following:

> "In March 1681–82, a company of Irish Quakers secured surveys for one hundred acres of land at the mouth of Little Newton Creek—and sixteen hundred acres on Newton Creek extending from the Delaware River to about Collingswood. Closely following these settlers came Richard Arnold, whose lands are now occupied by the New York Shipbuilding Co.; William Roydon, Samuel Cole, and Samuel Norris, all of whom owned at one time land within the present limits of Camden; Francis Collins whose land is now partly covered by the village of Haddonfield; Richard Matthews, Joshua Lord, John Ladd and the Woods (John, Constantine, and Jeremiah) early land owners along Woodbury Creek; John Hugg, Samuel Harrison, Andrew Robeson and Richard Bull whose surveys lay between Newton and Timber creeks."

When it is remembered that many of these settlers had grown up under town-life conditions, with all the attractions and comforts common to a long-established society, the vast forests with their wild life and almost impenetrable underbrush must have at first appeared almost terrifying, especially to the children and women folks. The labor involved in clearing such land and preparing it for cultivation with the crude implements at their command must have struck them, at first,

as almost hopeless. But they were a hardy people, the country was well watered, and there were grassy meadow lands along the streams full of nourishment for their cattle. Then, too, the streams were swarming with fish and the woods full of game. But, above all, it was easy for them to secure land and build for themselves homes; and they had the freedom for worship they so highly prized. Their interest in religion, which also quite early extended to the education of their children, stands greatly to their credit. They also manifested some of the best features of true democracy in the town meetings they held for the management of their local affairs.

Penn and His Province

From what has preceded it will be seen that the Valley of the Delaware was fairly well occupied before the great proprietor, William Penn, received his grant and arrived in the good ship *Welcome* with a group of Friendly settlers. Penn had been trained by his father for society, and in his early life was a frequenter of courts; but, under the influence of the preaching of Thomas Loe of Oxford he was converted to the Quaker faith and became himself a fearless expounder of its doctrines. This exposed him to the same opposition and persecution visited upon all nonconformists of his day, but opened the way to a lasting friendship with George Fox, the founder of the Quaker faith. Fox had been on a missionary tour in America and came home greatly impressed with the beauty and fertility of the Valley of the Delaware; and it was largely through his influence that the first purchases and settlements there were made.

A debt of some £16,000, which the Crown owed his father, afforded Penn an opportunity to carry out the philanthropic purpose that had been developing in his mind, and which he believed would also add to the welfare and honor of his own family. Both the King and his brother, the Duke of York, had promised Penn's father to befriend him when the occasion offered; hence, when Penn asked, in extinguishment of the debt, for

> "a tract of land in America, lying north of Maryland, on the east bounded by the Delaware River, on the west limited as Maryland, and northward to extend as far as plantable,"

King Charles, quite willing to settle with his pen rather than from the royal exchequer, made the grant, although he carefully concealed the debt consideration under the following diplomatic language:

> "Whereas our Trustie and well-beloved Subject, William Penn, Esquire, son and heire of Sir William Penn, deceased, out of a commendable desire to enlarge our English Empire, and promote such usefull comodities as may be of benefitt to us and our Dominions, as alsoe to reduce the Savage Nations by gentle and just manners to the love of civill Societie and Christian Religion hath humbly besought leave of us to transport an ample colonie into a certaine Country hereinafter described in the partes of America not yet cultivated and planted. . . . Have given and granted to Penn and his heirs all that tract or parte of land in America with all the Islands therein contayned, as the same is bounded on the East by Delaware River, from twelve miles distance, northwarde of New Castle Towne unto the three and fortieth degree of Northern latitude if the said River doth extend soe farre northwards—the said lands to extend Westwards five degrees in longitude, to bee computed from the said Easterne bounds; and the said lands to bee bounded on the north by the *beginning* of the three and fortieth degree of northern

latitude, and on the south, by a circle drawn at twelve miles, distance from New Castle northwards unto the *beginning* of the fortieth degree of northerne Latitude; and then by a straight line westwards, to the limits of Longitude above mencioned."[1]

The King stated further in the charter that he had erected the aforesaid islands and country into "a province and Seignorie, and doe call itt Pensilvania." And for this grant, in order to retain the supremacy of British rule, it was stipulated that two beaverskins were to be delivered on the first day of January each year at the Castle of Windsor, together with the fifth part of gold or silver that might be found from time to time.[2]

This charter is quoted at some length because its wording became the source of serious trouble to Penn and his heirs. The meager knowledge of the geography of America, so fully revealed in all of the early charters, is evident; the royal disregard of previous charters manifest; and an ambiguity of language permitted that indicates how little the lands of America were then appreciated in England. The integrity of the grant to Lord Baltimore was seriously affected if the 40th parallel should be interpreted as "beginning" at the 39th degree. The interpretation of "the beginning of the three and fortieth degree of northern Latitude" finally placed the northern boundary of Penn's grant at 42°; but even then it ignored the Winthrop charter of 1662, which gave Connecticut a claim to the land between the 41st and 42nd parallels. Contests over rival claims to Pennsylvania territory

[1] The italic letters are not found in the original charter.

[2] Although this charter was not signed until the twenty-seventh day of January, 1682, the essential terms of the grant had been fixed early the preceding year.

lasted for many years and it has truly been said Penn's charter was the source of more boundary disputes than any other in American history.[1]

Soon after receiving his grant Penn also secured from the Duke of York two deeds of feoffment; one conveying the town of New Castle and the country around within a twelve-mile circle, and the other all the land on the Delaware lying south of the twelve-mile circle as far as Cape Henlopen. This assured him of an outlet to the sea and he at once began to offer for sale lands in his province. So well had he advertised his guarantees of civil as well as religious liberty, and so advantageous were his terms for land, that he was overwhelmed with business and unable to leave England for more than a year later than he intended. Part of this time he spent in agreeing with his purchasers upon a "Frame of Government" for the province.

In the meantime he sent his cousin, William Markham, to act as his deputy in treating with the Indians, establishing a provisional government, and in opening courts. Markham, accompanied by a number of settlers, arrived in the summer of 1681 and chose Upland as his seat of government. He used his privilege of appointing nine persons to assist him as counselors, and seems to have conducted affairs in a manner that was satisfactory to the old as well as the new settlers, although he was probably more liberal in granting governmental privileges than Penn had intended. Before the end of the year Penn sent three commissioners, William Crispin, John Bezar, and Nathaniel Allen, with specific instructions in regard to locating

[1] Cf. Hinsdale's *Old Northwest*, pp. 98–119.

a capital which, because he hoped it would be the seat of peace and good will, he proposed to call "Philadelphia." The land north of the junction of the Schuylkill with the Delaware was finally selected and the construction of houses at once begun, so that when Penn arrived, Philadelphia already presented a busy scene.

Having made all his arrangements, Penn embarked from Deal in the ship *Welcome* with a company of 100 settlers, for the most part Friends from Sussex where his house at Worminghurst was located. After a two months' voyage, which at that time was considered "a prosperous passage," they arrived within the capes of the Delaware. But nearly a third of their number had died on the way from smallpox, one of the loathsome scourges of those early days. He landed at New Castle on October 27 and, after accepting the feudal symbols of his proprietorship, he addressed the inhabitants assembled in the substantial courthouse which already had been erected there, and explained to them the general nature and purposes of his government. The next day he ascended the river to Upland, the name of which tradition says he changed to "Chester" in honor of his friend Thomas Pearson who was with him and who had come from Chester in England.[1]

Penn disembarked at Chester and was entertained at the home of Robert Wade, in the house built by

[1] Cf. Clarkson's *Life of Penn*, I, p. 259; also *Hazard's Annals*, p. 695. Thomas Pearson was the maternal grandfather of Benjamin West and established his home on the high ridge near what is now Swarthmore. It seems scarcely credible that Penn would so lightly change the name of an important court center and the seat of his provisional government. A record of a Friends monthly meeting, dated 11th of 7 mo. (Sept.), 1682, that states it was agreed to hold first day meetings "at the courthouse in Chester," indicates that at least among the Friends the name "Chester" was used before Penn's arrival. The fact that Governor Markham, the twentieth of April, 1682, agreed to permit the settlers at Marcus Hook to change its name to "Chichester" (Lower Chester) emphasizes the same point.

Armgard Papegoya in "Printzdorf," but which had been renamed "Essex House." Soon after his arrival Penn was rowed in a barge to Philadelphia to inspect his rapidly rising "Greene country towne." His surveyor-general, Thomas Holme, who had arrived in the early summer of 1682, had been kept exceedingly busy because of the flood of immigrants arriving—twenty-three shiploads before the end of 1682. When Penn arrived in the Valley of the Delaware, there were probably 3,500 inhabitants in settlements scattered all the way from the Whorekills (Lewes) to Trenton. Within two years this population was more than doubled and Penn had already sold 600,000 acres of land. This growth was phenomenal in early American history and was paralleled only by the commerce which at once sprang up. Penn wrote Lord North, in September, 1683: "since last summer we have had about sixty sails of great and small shipping, which is a good beginning." And at the end of 1683 he, with pardonable pride, wrote the Marquis of Halifax:

> "I must, without vanity, say that I have led the greatest colony into America that ever any man did upon private credit, and the most prosperous beginnings that ever were in it are to be found among us."

Penn spent the winter of 1682–83 in Chester and, as soon as it could be arranged after his landing there, assembled the people of his province to adopt a permanent form of government. The plan finally agreed upon was exceptional in the amount of civil and religious liberty guaranteed the people and made his possessions at once a permanent stronghold of self-government. This was to have important results in future years. His attitude toward the Indians was

also exceptional and guaranteed peace for his settlements for many years. Although other colonial governments bought land from the Indians, it was not always in recognition of their rights in the soil.

One of the first acts of William Markham, Penn's cousin, whom he had sent on in advance in the summer of 1681 to administer affairs until his arrival, seems to have been a negotiation with the Indians for land.[1] And a short time after his arrival Penn, probably in the "Indian summer" days of November, 1682, met the Indians in friendly conference under the historic elm tree in Shackamaxon, where he declared that in all their dealings with each other he intended that "all shall be openness and love [for] we are all one flesh and blood." This was an unusual attitude—

> "New England had just terminated a disastrous war of extermination; the Dutch were scarcely ever at peace with the Algonkins; the laws of Maryland refer to Indian hostilities and massacres, which extended as far as Richmond. Penn came without arms; he declared his purpose to abstain from violence; he had no message but peace; and not a drop of Quaker blood was ever shed by an Indian."[2]

Doubtless Penn expected to reap pecuniary benefit from his province, for he retained a yearly quitrent on the land he sold and also set aside a number of manorial tracts of desirable land for his family; but he could not justly be accused of cupidity, for he refused a tempting offer for the exclusive privilege of dealing with the Indians; the London trading company that he had organized also consistently refused to enter

[1] Penn's instructions to Markham had been: "Be tender of offending the Indians . . . present their kings with what I send them and make a friendship and league with them . . . From time to time, in my name and for my use, buy land of them, where any justly pretend [to it]."

[2] Fiske's *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, II, p. 383.

Courtesy, N. R. Ewan

Thomas Revel House, oldest building in Burlington, New Jersey. Date (1685) shows in gable whose window has been enlarged and modernized. Dormer windows also a later addition. Now owned by Annis Stockton Chapter, D. A. R.

Photo, C. Henry Kain

Yew tree, Haddonfield, New Jersey. Tradition says it was brought as small tree from England by Elizabeth Haddon. Her matter-of-fact betrothal to John Alden was portrayed by the poet Whittier.

into any monopoly of the trade of the province; and he also had declined to be reimbursed by the Assembly for money spent on the government. That the last was no trifling amount is indicated in his statement a few years before his death, that the province had cost him above £30,000 more than he had gotten out of it. His quitrents had also become a source of misunderstanding and friction rather than of profit. There were other embarrassments that harassed his later years and which led him finally to offer to sell Pennsylvania to the crown. As he was stricken with paralysis before the transfer was consummated and died in 1718, his children fell heir to his province.

There is reason for believing a Dutch trading post at one time occupied the rising ground back of the natural wharfage provided by Dock Creek where it joined the Delaware. Here, later, stood the Blue Anchor Inn before which Penn landed and where he was entertained on his first visit to Philadelphia in the fall of 1682. T. A. Glenn, in a report he made to the Colonial Society in 1897, concluded the inn stood in the middle of what is now Front Street and about 146 feet north of Dock Street. It, no doubt, was removed at an early date as an obstruction to Front Street, the name being transferred to the southernmost building of a row of ten houses erected in the vicinity and to which the popular name "Budd's long row" was given. Building in the new city must have proceeded rapidly, for in the summer of 1683 Penn wrote to a friend in London:

> "We have laid out a town a mile long and two miles deep. . . . I think we have near about eighty houses built and about three hundred farms settled round the town."

That he was well pleased with the site chosen by his three commissioners is indicated in a report he made the 16th of the 6th month, 1683, to the Society of Free Traders, of which he was a member:

> "that of all the many places I have seen in the world, I remember not one better seated; so that it seems to me to have been appointed for a town, whether we regard the rivers, or the conveniency of the coves, docks and springs, the loftiness and soundness of the land, and the air, held by the people of these parts to be very good. It [the city] is advanced within less than a year to about four-score houses and cottages, such as they are, where merchants and handicraftsmen are following their vocations as fast as they can; while the countrymen are close at their farms."

"Liberty Lands"

Penn's original plan for his capital called for 10,000 acres to be laid out in rectangular plots of 100 acres each, the owners to build in the center of these plots and to surround their mansions with gardens and orchards so "that it may be a greene country towne which never will be burnt and always be wholesome." In order to promote the purchase and settlement of large tracts, which he regarded as the safest and best method of occupying the wilderness lands, Penn offered to "first purchasers" of 5000 acres or more extra lots within the city and its "Liberties." Such purchasers were entitled to "liberty land" to the extent of two per cent of their purchase, the land to be within the limits of the county in which his capital was located.[1] Even though when the three original

[1] Cf. Penn's published *Conditions and Concessions to Adventurers for Land.* Such persons were not only entitled to one or more city lots, but were also at "liberty" to have land adjoining the city and within Philadelphia County.

counties, Philadelphia, Bucks, and Chester, were laid out, Philadelphia County was found to contain over 50,000 acres of these lands which purchasers were at liberty to take, there were so many buyers of city lots and large tracts that this bonus scheme had to be abandoned, thus leaving a train of difficulties for Penn and his agents in adjusting claims under the original agreement. The one-hundred-acre-tract idea for the city itself was at once found to be impractical, owing to the number of purchasers and to the fact that as laid out the city extended only for the nine squares from Vine to Cedar (South Street), and from the Delaware to the Schuylkill. However, although the original city rapidly overflowed into the county's adjoining lands, it retained its separate existence until 1854, by which time some twenty-eight governmental districts had developed within the limits of Philadelphia County. Several of these adjacent to the city had their own municipal organizations, including police, firemen, and water supply. This resulted in friction, confusion, and extravagance.

In addition to several Swedish families that had homes within the limits of Philadelphia County before Penn's arrival, there were several English settlements in the northern end of the county before 1682. Of these, several settlers were already located at Byberry, and Thomas Fairman had a fine house at Shackamaxon on the site of an old Indian village that seems to have been the seat of important "council fires." Near the Fairman mansion stood the elm tree made famous by Benjamin West as the scene of Penn's "Treaty" with the Indians. According to "A Map of the Improved Parts of the Province of Pennsylvania," begun in 1681

by Surveyor general Holme, more than 100 purchases of land within Philadelphia County, but outside the city limits, had already been made; but not all of these purchasers came to America. One of the early near-by purchases was that of the land on which Germantown was laid out by Francis Daniel Pastorius in 1683; another led to a settlement that was known as "The Welsh Tract."

"The Welsh Tract"

Persecution of the Quakers raged in Wales as well as in England, and the Welsh were among the first to accept Penn's offer of a place of refuge. The first to settle within this tract were Edward Jones, listed as "Chyrurgion; Edward ap Rees; Robert David; William ap Edward and probably his brother John; and William John"— who with their families and servants amounted to forty persons in all. They landed at Upland August 13, 1682, and were assigned "adjoining" lands. They thus were in Pennsylvania before the arrival of its Proprietor.[1] Before the end of 1682 other Welsh homes had been hewn out of the wilderness in what are now Merion, Haverford, and Radnor townships. From these centers other Welshmen formed settlements in Goshen,[2] Tredyffrin, and Uwchlan, the numbers in all of them being greatly augmented before the end of 1683.[3] With true devotion religious meetings were no doubt held as soon as their settlements were made. The records indicate that these were at first held in private houses; and soon three of them, the

[1] Cf. an article in Vol. 26 of *Pennsylvania Magazine of History* by Benj. H. Smith. Ap signifies son and ap Rees is said to have developed into the name Price.

[2] The region in which West Chester now stands.

[3] Cf. Smith's *History of Delaware County*, p. 148.

Photo in 1868, shortly before torn down

"Slate-Roof House," occupied by Penn's family in Philadelphia at the southeast corner of Second and Sansom Streets. Old Chamber of Commerce building, now Keystone Telephone Company, erected on the site.

Courtesy, Doron Green

House on site of "Pennsbury," Penn's manor house on the Delaware opposite Bordentown, New Jersey. At Pennsbury, Penn lived in a style befitting the proprietor of a great province.

Merion, the Haverford, and the Schuylkill meetings were organized as the "Haverford Monthly Meeting." The first of these monthly meetings was held at the house of Thomas Ducket, which stood on the west side of the Schuylkill a little north of the present Pennsylvania Railroad Station. The records of these monthly meetings date from 1684.

That same year Penn fulfilled a promise he had made to the Welsh settlers that he would grant them a "barony" in which they could live together under their own local control. Accordingly, he issued instructions to Surveyor general Holme to lay out:

> "about fourty thousand acres—as one Barony—as conveniently as may be, upon ye West side of Skoolkill river, running three miles upon ye same & two miles backward, etc."

These instructions were "given at Pennsbury, ye 13th 1st mo. 1684" at the request of "considerable persons among ye Welsh Friends" who had purchased lands from Penn, some of them before leaving England. As a matter of fact, Penn had found it difficult to keep his promises of contiguous territory so near Philadelphia and, at first, took refuge in the fact that the promises had been made only by his agents. But the Welsh had a strong advocate in Thomas Lloyd, one of their own number whom Penn at various times made his Deputy, Keeper of Seals, and Chief Justice.[1] The "barony" soon was known only as "The Welsh Tract," and included the land for several miles along the Schuylkill beginning at the northwest boundary of Philadelphia County and including the high ground between the Schuylkill and Darby Creek.

[1] Cf. Browning's *Welsh Settlement of Pennsylvania*, p. 331.

But their just expectations of having a united municipal district were interfered with in 1685 when the line was drawn to mark the boundary between Philadelphia and Chester counties; for it separated Merion from Radnor and Haverford which were thus placed under the jurisdiction of Chester County. Against this Griffith Owens and other Welsh settlers made a strong protest. As "descended from the Ancient Britons," they said they had always in their native land under the Crown of England enjoyed the privilege of having their bounds and limits to themselves—

> "within which all causes, quarrels, crimes & titles were tryed & wholly determined by officers, magistrates [and] Juries of our own language, which were equals."

They desired and had expected to live together as one civil society, to settle all their controversies according to their "Gospel order" and without entangling themselves

> "with Laws in an unknown tongue, as also to preserve our Language, that we might ever have correspondence with our friends in the land of our nativity."

This distrust of laws and court proceedings in an unfamiliar tongue and the desire to preserve language and religion for which so much had been suffered in the Old World, would have interfered more seriously with the development of common interests and a union of the colonies had it not been for the leveling influences and common dangers of the New World and the fact that, after 1763, they all had to face the oppressive acts of one and the same distant government. The insistence of the Pennsylvania authorities that quitrents would have to be paid by the Welsh on their

entire 40,000-acre tract, whether settled or not, was another cause of complaint in the Welsh barony. These quitrents, the idea of which both Lord Baltimore and Penn seem to have gotten, as the source of a perpetual revenue, from Irish land-tenure plans, were always unpopular and regarded as a nuisance that interfered with clear titles to land. *The Colonial Records* (I, pp. 263–65) also reveal the fact that the Welsh inhabitants refused to recognize the authority of Chester County and claimed the right to elect their own officials; their elections evidently being by means of "black and white beanes in a hat" instead of by ballot as required by the laws of the county, because they claimed this method "cannot be denyed by the Charter when it is demanded."[1]

Between the years 1698 and 1720 a number of Welsh families settled on a tract of land lying on both sides of the Wissahickon in what is now Montgomery County and "within eighteen miles of Independence Hall." Most of their land was bought from Robert Turner, who had purchased 5000 acres from Penn in March, 1681. Because they had come from the north of Wales ("Gwynedd") they gave that name to their settlement, although the other colonists soon used "North Wales" instead.[2] A letter written by Richard Townsend indicates that these settlers were not all Quakers, although later many of them "made profession of the truth, as held by us." There was also a Welsh settlement on Duck Creek, within the limits of New Castle County, Delaware. This probably was made soon after Penn's arrival for Edward Owen, who had arrived in

[1] *Colonial Records*, I, p. 282.
[2] Cf. Howard Jenkins' *Historical Collections* Relating to Gwynedd.

1683, is mentioned as living on Duck Creek when, on the 9th, 1st mo. 1684, he deeded land in the Welsh Tract to his brother, Dr. Griffith Jones. There were thus three early Welsh settlements in the Valley of the Delaware—on the Welsh Tract, at North Wales, and on Duck Creek in Delaware. The Welsh were thrifty and experienced farmers. Oldmixon, writing of the Welsh Tract in 1708, says: "the people are very industrious, by which means this country is better cleared than any other part of the country." And he added that not only were they accumulating wealth but also were enjoying it in comfortable living.

The Welsh settlers were not all Quakers, although many of them had changed from the Church of England to that faith through the preaching of the great Welsh leader, John ap John. He is said to have had "a gift for the ministry" which he exercised fervently after his own change of belief under the preaching of George Fox. An interesting illustration of the persistence of early influences is to be seen in a Quaker meetinghouse still in use in Lower Merion of the Welsh Tract. A date stone in the wall indicates it was built in 1695. Instead of the severe plainness and rectangular shape of Quaker meetinghouses, it has arched windows and is in the form of a T or "tau cross." The architecture is undoubtedly Episcopal, and its proponents would have been likely subjects for censure had their design been presented in later days when regulations for plainness in all things became operative. A number of the Welsh, especially in the southern part of the Radnor section, remained loyal to their Episcopal faith, the records indicating that there was a sufficient number of them to establish a congregation in 1700. At first

they met in the house of William Davis, but by 1715 they had collected sufficient funds to erect the church of "St. Davids" at Radnor, a quaint, old relic of the past. Its unique outside stairway was not added until 1771; but it stands as a good illustration of our forefathers' methods of conserving space.

Gen. Anthony Wayne, who after the Revolution rose to be commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States, is buried in the old graveyard of the church.[1] Dr. John Brooke, a former resident of Radnor, says:

> "A substantial school house was erected in 1749 directly in front of the church and just without the graveyard walls. . . . Elijah Brooke at one time presided over the little school. He maintained discipline by means of the hickory ramrod of his squirrel rifle, and the boy who had an interview with it usually came out minus some of his jacket buttons."[2]

Glenn, in his *Merion in the Welsh Tract,* says that:

> "Divers of these early Welsh settlers were persons of excellent and worthy character; and several of good education, family and estate." And he adds that a few years after their first settlements at Merion, Haverford and Radnor "their number was so much augmented as to settle the three other townships of New-town, Goshen and Uwchland. After this they continued still increasing, and became a numerous and flourishing people."

Several of the early mayors of Philadelphia were of Welsh blood—Edward Roberts and Robert Wharton

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[1] He died at Presque-isle (Erie) in 1796 and was buried at the foot of the flagstaff of the blockhouse located there. When the Society of Cincinnati, in 1809, arranged to erect a monument to this Revolutionary hero, his son brought his father's remains to their country seat near Valley Forge, from which with due ceremony they were re-interred at St. Davids.

[2] Cf. An article in the local paper, *The Suburban of Wayne,* September, 1898, by Dr. John Brooke.

being the best known of these. Many of the noted physicians and surgeons of the Valley also trace their lineage to the same blood; which is also true of others who became distinguished in science, literature, and art.

As might be expected, many other sects besides the Quakers quite early obtained a foothold in the Valley of the Delaware. Of these the most influential were the Episcopalians who, because they represented the state religion of England, wielded power in political as well as in religious affairs. They also, through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, at first did some of the most aggressive missionary work of the valley; and Immanuel Church in New Castle (1703), St. Paul's in Chester (1703), St. Mary's in Burlington (1704, but replaced 1846), and St. David's at Radnor (1715) still stand as evidences of their activity outside of Philadelphia. Within the city itself remain Christ Church (1695, in enlarged form 1727), at Second above Market Street, and one of Philadelphia's most noted historic shrines; St. Peters (1761), Third and Pine Streets, one of the best preserved old church buildings; and Trinity Church at Oxford (1711), still one of the quaintest. To these must be added Gloria Dei ("Old Swedes," 1700) and St. James of Kingsessing (1760) which, like "Old Swedes" in Wilmington (1699), although erected as Swedish Lutheran Churches eventually became Episcopalian through the similarity of their services. This social and civil preëminence of the Episcopalians over all but the Quakers continued to the period of the Revolution when, because of their Tory inclinations and the growing opposition to the Proprietary which was also Episcopalian, they lost their political power.

Christ Church

While Penn's charter from the king was being prepared, the Bishop of London had a provision inserted that whenever twenty of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania applied for a preacher

> "for their instruceon . . . such preacher or preachers shall and may be [sent] and reside within the said province without any Deniall or molestation whatsoever."

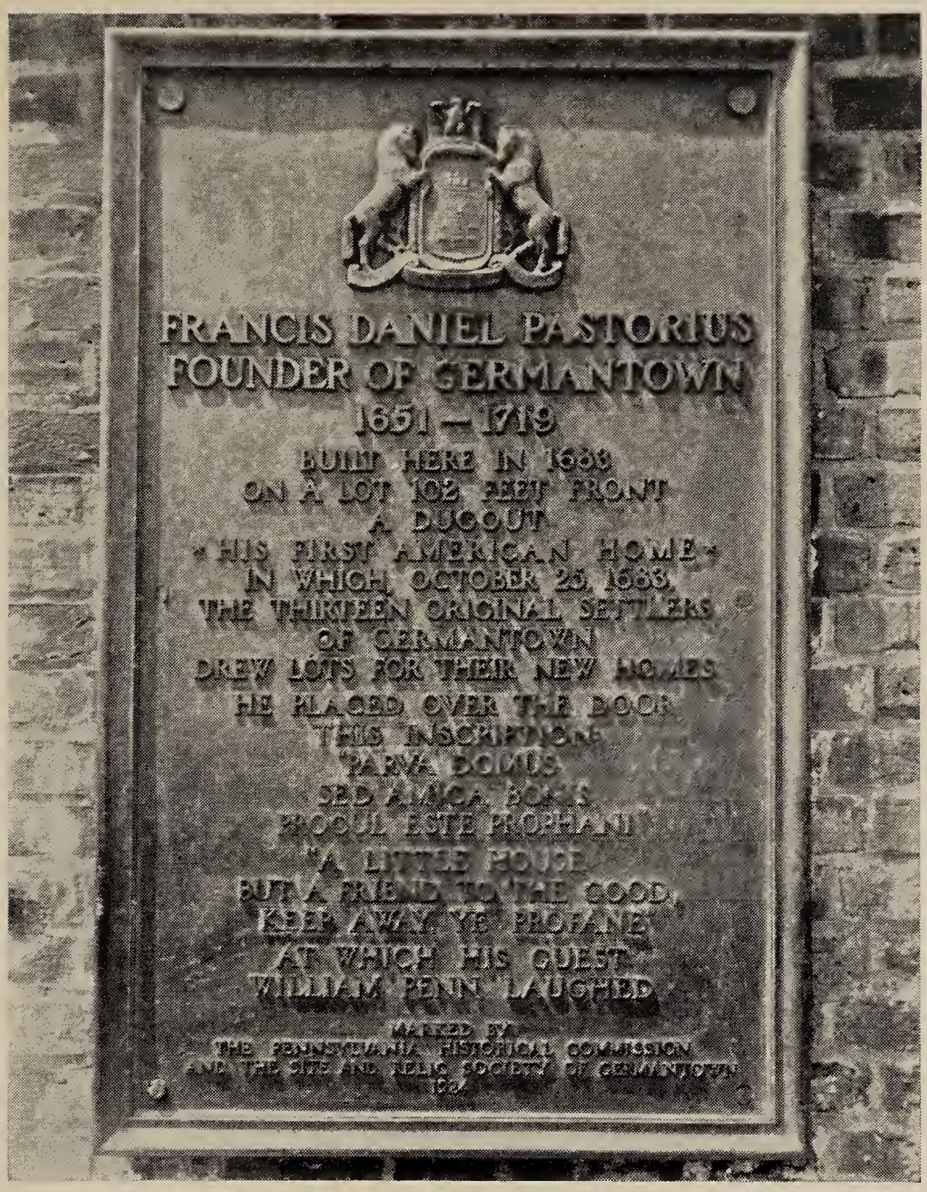
In accordance with this provision, the Rev. Thomas Clayton was sent to Philadelphia and, although he found on his arrival but fifty Church of England people, was able within two years to increase the number to 500; and then at once, in 1695, they erected "a very fine church" on the site of the present Christ Church. This building, probably in an enlarged form, was made to assume practically its present appearance in 1727. The organ was imported from London at that time and in 1754 the chimes were installed.

These are the chimes which, with the "Liberty Bell" of the State House and the bell of St. Peter's, were hidden in Allentown on the approach of the British to Philadelphia. The bell at Christ Church was rung on all important occasions prior to the erection of the State House. After that it shared with the "Liberty Bell," until well on into the nineteenth century, in announcing the death of noted men and on other occasions of civic or political importance. The historical relics of Christ Church include a silver Communion set donated by Queen Anne, the "Governor's pew" and the pew used by Washington, the tomb of John Penn, and the figure of George II which stood in a niche in the front of the church until it was taken down by the vestrymen to

prevent its removal by more violent hands during the Revolutionary troubles.

During the winter of 1682–83, while Penn was living in Chester, he held a conference with Lord Baltimore in regard to their respective boundary claims. But beyond their evident purpose to impress each other with their personal dignity and importance nothing came from the meeting. Learning later that Lord Baltimore was sailing for England to press his claim, Penn also embarked for London, August 16, 1684, in order to protect what he regarded as his rights. As he did not return to Pennsylvania until 1699, this left his province in charge of deputies for fifteen years and during a critical time for his interests. Nor did his boundary dispute prosper. Charles II died early in 1685 and his brother, the Duke of York, succeeded him as James II. He was an ardent Catholic and, although very friendly toward Penn, could not well throw his influence against Lord Baltimore and his Catholic friends. Hence, the controversy dragged along and although Penn, through his influence at court, was able to mitigate the sufferings of many of his coreligionists, his marked friendship for the king and his presence at court came near ruining his own prospects and depriving him of his province. It was because of this period in Penn's life that Lord Macaulay, through hastily formed judgments, was led to attack Penn's integrity and to belittle his character in his *History of England.*[1]

[1] John Paget in his *New Examiner*, London, 1861, gives proofs which completely exonerate Penn from Macaulay's charges. Penn was accused of taking part in the Jacobite plots of the King (James II) and was denounced by Macaulay as "William the Jesuit." He also accused Penn of going to France in the autumn of 1691 to urge James, who had been driven from his throne, to descend on England with an army of 30,000 men. But Paget shows the whole matter to have been the fabrication of a low character, Captain Williamson. Through confusing Penn's name with that of the notorious extortioner Penne, Macaulay also classed the great philanthropist with the fee grabbers of one of England's most corrupt courts.



Bronze tablet marking the site of the "cave dwelling" of Pastorius at 503 South Third Street, Philadelphia.

Courtesy, Moravian Historical Society

"Whitefield House," Nazareth, Pennsylvania. Now occupied by the Moravian Historical Society; completed, 1743. On left the first house in Nazareth, which stood until 1864. From an old drawing.

Penn returned to Pennsylvania late in 1699 accompanied by his family. After the death of his first wife, Gulielma Springett, he had married Hannah Callowhill of Bristol, England. Soon after reaching Philadelphia, they took up their residence in the "Slate Roof House," which stood at Second and Sansom streets. Here their son John, "the American," was born. Upon the completion of the manor house at Pennsbury,[1] they took up their residence there; as Penn hoped to the full enjoyment of the country life he loved. But by this time he had become seriously embarrassed financially. At first, when in high favor in his province, he had refused the offer of the Assembly to provide for the expenses of carrying on the government, and the offer had not been repeated. He had relied upon quitrents and the sale of lands for his reimbursement, but quitrents were hard to collect and others profited far more from their smaller land deals than he did from his entire province. He had also lived extravagantly while in attendance at court and, as early as 1686, wrote:

> "I am five thousand pounds and more behindhand more than I ever received or saw for land in that province."

One of the heaviest expenses he had to meet was the enormous fees required to secure royal confirmation of the laws passed by the Colonial Assembly. In one case Penn mentions an amount of £2000 that was used for this purpose. Had he not so jealously guarded the privileges he secured for the settlers of his province, he might have avoided some of these drains upon his resources.[2]

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[1] Recently definitely located as having stood diagonally across the river from Bordentown.

[2] Cf. Armstrong's *Memoirs of James Logan.*

With all of his fine qualities in other directions, Penn was not a good business man. To add to his financial embarrassments, the foolishly trusted steward of his English affairs had already begun to defraud him, and the steward in charge of the improvements at Pennsbury was lavish in his expenditures. Penn's finances were so low in 1699 that it is said his friends had to render assistance to enable him to bring his family to America. Although he was the owner of an exceptionally rich province, he lacked the funds to go to it. It was under these conditions that he rose superior to the "great temptation" when he was offered £6000, two and a half per cent of all rentals, and the satisfying of all Indian claims to 30,000 acres of additional land, for the exclusive privilege of carrying on the Indian trade between the Delaware and the Susquehanna. This offer he rejected because he realized it would make it difficult for him to protect the best interests of the Indians whom in a true sense he felt to be his wards. But he often failed to use as much firmness and good judgment in other directions, especially where his likings and trust were concerned. Sidney George Fisher has well said:

> "When Penn's affections were deeply touched—when he took a fancy to a province, or to a man, or to a king—there seems to have been no limit to his folly."[1]

It was in the spring or summer of 1700 that Penn removed his family to Pennsbury, a manor which then contained upwards of 6000 acres, with the grounds adjoining the mansion laid out on the order of an English estate, although relatively little of the remainder of the

[1] Cf. *The True William Penn*, by Sydney George Fisher, p. 339.

land had been cleared. Penn made the journey to and from the city in a barge manned by six rowers in livery. He had a coach and his lady a sedan chair for use in and near the city, but his journeys to distant meetings had to be made on horseback. He had a large retinue of servants at Pennsbury and lived on a scale of great liberality. Bands of Indians were to be seen almost constantly on his grounds; and they were always the objects of his bounty. But he was permitted to enjoy only a brief sojourn on this favorite spot. Having received information that "evil-minded persons" had made charges against his government, and that strenuous efforts were being made to get an act of Parliament annexing all proprietary governments to the crown, he embarked with his family for London on the ship *Dalmahoy* in October, 1701.

Although the Parliamentary act was withdrawn, the disposition to place all the colonies under royal governors grew with their growth, and the antagonism against the Quaker government increased both within and without the province. This antagonism on the part of the English government was due partly to the opposition of Friends to taking the oaths required by the crown in the administration of civil and judicial affairs, and partly from the insistence of England that the colonies must espouse her cause in her foreign wars. The antagonism within the province itself arose from the fact that the majority of the population advocated strong military defense during these wars. This embarrassment of Penn was increased by the fact that such leading people as his own agent and secretary, James Logan, believed some military preparation necessary. Then, too, Penn had made some unwise choices in his

deputy governors; and David Lloyd, whom he had made his attorney-general, turned against him and used his influence to defeat some of the most important measures proposed by the Proprietary. This was all the easier to do because, according to a letter written by James Logan in 1702, the population of the province was pretty evenly divided between Quakers and others. Two thirds of the population of "Philadelphia town" by that time were not Quakers, although the country districts counterbalanced this majority.

A few years later, 1704, Penn placed the losses he had sustained from being the proprietor of Pennsylvania at £30,000. To add to his distress, the steward of his British affairs had piled up an indebtedness against him of £10,000. Being unable to meet this claim, he was confined in the "Old Bailey" for nine months before his friends secured his release. Although his prospects gradually brightened, the burden of his remaining obligations and the growing assertiveness of the Assembly he had so liberally provided for in his Frame of Government finally led him, in 1713, to offer to sell his province to the crown for the sum of £12,000. But he was stricken with paralysis and although he lingered until 1718, he never recovered sufficiently to execute the deed.

Whatever we may think of Penn's attitude toward James II and his corrupt court, we must admit he used his influence with both for the amelioration of his persecuted people. His religious convictions and his fearlessness in following them on all occasions; the force of his writings, prosy as they were at times, but which did so much toward strengthening and comforting those of his own faith; the ability he displayed in presenting

and defending any cause he espoused, an ability that would have made him a great lawyer; and the unselfish philanthropy with which he used his means for promoting a great cause—all mark him as one of the world's great characters. Fiske has this to say about him:

> "We have to view a man of extraordinary and varied powers, uniting after a fashion all his own the wisdom of the serpent with the purity of the dove, who was able at once to be a leader of one of the most iconoclastic and unpopular of Christian sects, and to retain the admiring friendship of one of the most bigoted kings that ever sat upon a throne. We must make the acquaintance of William Penn, who, take him for all in all, was by far the greatest among the founders of American commonwealths."[1]

[1] Cf. *Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America*, by John Fiske, II, p. 91.

Chapter V

THE COMING OF THE GERMANS

There were many nationalities represented in the Valley of the Delaware before the arrival of William Penn. Some of these were Germans who had temporarily settled in Holland, which was a haven of refuge for the persecuted Protestants of the Rhine Valley and German Switzerland; some had come from the part of Germany that borders on the Baltic Sea. Peter Minuit, the leader of the first Swedish settlement on the Delaware, was not a Swede; and Diffenderfer claims that there were fifty-four Germans, mostly from Pomerania, in the settlements made by Governor Printz who was himself a German nobleman.[1] The great "Lion of the North," Gustavus Adolphus, had many German troops in his army during the Thirty Years' War; and the friendly relations between Sweden and its allies continued until the growing importance of Swedish commerce aroused the enmity of the cities of the North and Baltic seas. It was during the thirty years of friendly alliance that the Dutch and Swedish settlements on the Delaware were made, and the devastations of this frightful war drove many into schemes of colonization that promised a bettering of their condition. However, with the exception of the unfortunate Plockhoy settlement of Moravians at the Whorekills (Lewes, Delaware), no regular German colony appeared in the Delaware until after the arrival of Penn.

[1] Diffenderfer's *The German Exodus to England in 1709*, p. 5.

Pastorius and Germantown

Penn and his benevolent policies had become so well known in Holland and the Rhine countries that, as soon as he secured his province, the persecuted and those who were otherwise chafing under the restrictions of European conditions naturally looked upon it as a true land of promise and bent every effort toward getting to Pennsylvania with their families. Benjamin Furley, a Separatist who had married an English wife and settled in Amsterdam, became an enthusiastic agent for Penn and did much toward stimulating interest in his province and in perfecting plans for German and Dutch emigration to it. And the "City of Brotherly Love" had scarcely been laid out before a leader of the first of these migrations arrived. This was Francis Daniel Pastorius, scion of a distinguished Sommerhausen family, who was graduated at Altdorf and afterwards made the "Grand Tour" that was expected of every cultured gentleman in order to familiarize him with the manners and customs of other nations. Pastorius spoke several languages fluently, had studied jurisprudence, and finally settled as a lawyer in the city of Frankfort. Here, in 1677, he attended meetings addressed by Penn and his colleagues, and received impressions which led to a warm friendship with Penn and to a close fellowship with the Quakers, although he had been baptized as a Lutheran. He also became a trusted leader among people of other faiths.

The news of Penn's grant and his liberal offers to prospective settlers spread rapidly through the Rhine countries and lawyer Pastorius, as a well-known friend of Penn as well as a strong advocate of religious freedom, was naturally chosen as the representative of pur-

chasers of land in Pennsylvania. This was especially true when it was known that he himself intended to remove to the new province. Several groups of purchasers were promptly formed. One of these that purchased 1500 acres of land was from Frankfort and its vicinity and was at first spoken of by Pastorius as the "German Company," although a few years later when they purchased 10,000 additional acres they were known as the "Frankfort Company." Another set of purchasers consisted of two groups from the upper Rhine. The active spirit in one of them was Jacob Telner who, as an Amsterdam merchant, had visited the Valley of the Delaware in 1678 and again in 1681 and, therefore, knew something of its merits. He had been born in Crefeld, near the border of Holland, and was joined early in March, 1682, by two other Crefelders, each of them purchasing 1000 acres. A second group consisted of Govert Remckins of Crefeld, Jacob Isaacs von Bibber, and Lenert Arets, each of whom purchased 1000 acres in June, 1682. This second group was the first of the three to send out a colony to Pennsylvania. This colony consisted of twelve families, forty-one persons in all, who landed in Philadelphia on the sixth of October, 1683. Pastorius says of them:

> "These honest people expended nearly their entire means upon the journey, and if William Penn had not advanced them some stores, they would of necessity have had to serve others."

As Pastorius had arranged to represent both the Frankfort and the Crefeld purchasers in America, he preceded this company some six weeks in order to confirm the purchases with Penn, who was then in America. Pastorius was accompanied by his two children, six

servants, and a young boy.[1] In speaking of the voyage he says:

> "The treatment on our ship was rather bad. . . . Every ten persons received weekly three pounds of butter, daily four pots of beer and two jugs of water; every day at noon two platters of peas; meat four days in the week, and upon the other three days at noon, fish, which we had to prepare with our own butter. We also had to save enough from our noon-day meal to do us for our supper. The worst of all was that both our meat and our fish were salted to such an extent, and were so rancid, that we could hardly partake of half of them."

Soon after landing Pastorius called on Penn for the confirmation and location of the land that had been purchased. Penn found it difficult to fulfil the terms for so many contiguous acres, as the near-by land on the navigable streams had all been taken up. But he finally arranged for the 6000 acres of the Crefelders in what is now the Germantown region, as well as for the city lots to which they were entitled by their purchases. On one of these city lots Pastorius, with the aid of his serving men, built a temporary house for his family which, according to his own statement, was "half under and half above ground" and which was thirty "shoes" long and fifteen wide. It was located at what is now 502 South Front Street, Philadelphia, and Pastorius says Penn was greatly amused at a Latin inscription he had placed upon the oil-soaked paper of its one window.[2]

When the Germantown tract of 6000 acres was surveyed it was found to contain but 5,750 acres, 2,750

[1] The servants consisted of an English maid, a Dutch maid, and four male servants, Jacob Schumacher, George Wertmüller, Isaac Dilbeck, and Thomas Gasper or Konradt Rutters, one of the latter probably being the young man Pastorius mentions.

[2] "*Parva domus, sed amicus bonus. Procal este profani*—a free translation of which would be "A small house, but friendly to the good. Depart ye profane."

acres of which were included in the part called Germantown and the remainder in the adjoining regions known at first as "Cresheim," "Sommerhausen," and "Crefeld." Each of the Crefelders was assigned by lot three acres of ground in Germantown and secured the remainder of his land, in the same manner, in one of the other three districts. From one of Pastorius' letters, published in Frankfort in 1700, it is evident he expected the Germantown tract to be an independent city and "township,"[1] on the order of the free cities then so common in Germany. On October 24, 1683, he says:

> "I, Francis Daniel Pastorius, with the good will of the Governor, laid out another new city, of the name of Germantown, or Germanopolis, at a distance of two hours' walk from Philadelphia, where there is a good, black, fertile soil and many fresh, wholesome springs of water, many oak, walnut, and chestnut trees, and also good pasturage for cattle. The first settlement consisted of only twelve families of forty-one persons, the greater part High German mechanics and weavers, because I had heard linen cloth would be indispensable.
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> "I made the main street of the city sixty feet wide and the side streets forty: the space of ground plot for each house and garden was so much as three acres of land, but for my own dwelling twice as much. . . . . I have also acquired for my High German Company fifteen thousand acres of land in one piece, on condition that, within a year they shall actually place thirty families thereon."[2]

Pastorius, according to a letter written to Doctor Schütz of Frankfort, was still living in his Philadelphia cave house in May, 1685, although he says his thoughts were "now in Philadelphia and now in Germantown." But he probably was in his own home in Germantown

[1] Township—the district under control of a town.
[2] Cf. Pastorius' *Beschreiburg*, p. 34.

before the end of the next year, 1686, for in his account of "The Religions of the Province" he says:

> "We built here in Germantown, Anno 1686, a little church for the community, not aiming at an externally large stone structure but rather that a temple of God (which we believed ourselves are) should be built, and we all together may be pure and unspotted.[1]

He assuredly was living in Germantown in 1689, for that year Penn granted a "Charter for the German Towne," Francis Daniel Pastorius, "civilian," being designated as "Bailif." However, during the years 1698–1700 he probably was back again in Philadelphia, having been appointed as teacher of the Friends school in that place. If so, he was back in Germantown in 1701 and served the town as teacher and public official until within a short time of his death, December 27, 1719.[2] Some doubt is associated with his burial place, although the late Edwin C. Jellett, a careful investigator of Germantown history, placed it, as well as the grave of Dr. Christopher Witt, in the portion of a private burying ground near his home and which is now covered by the vestry room of St. Michael's Protestant Episcopal Church. His Germantown house was on the "Great Road" next above that of Doctor Witt, Germantown Avenue and High Street.

Pastorius was both a linguist and a scholar, and felt so deeply the need of instructing the young that the year before he became a teacher in Philadelphia he prepared a *Primer* for methodical instruction in the "True Spelling, Reading, and Writing of English," which was published by William Bradford in New York

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[1] Cf. Pastorius' *Beschreiburg*, p. 34.
[2] Cf. Learned's *Life of Pastorius*, p. 286.

in 1697.[1] He had the reputation of being somewhat severe in his discipline as a teacher; but that he was both humane and sympathetic is indicated by the fact that he prepared the first public protest made by any organized body against slavery as early as 1688. Although his strength as a business man and lawyer do not seem to have been remarkable, he showed both tact and persistence in securing for his original purchasers their allotted concessions, notwithstanding the evasive policies of Penn's deputies. He was invaluable as a leader in the early days of the Germantown settlement and besides his work as a lwayer, scrivener, and schoolmaster, also served for most of the time as the official representative of the town.

Pastorius took a practical interest in the affairs of the inhabitants and, in addition to their regular occupation as weavers and mechanics, encouraged the raising of flax, introduced the culture of grapes, and, in general, not only encouraged industry but also, by his publications abroad, the immigration that started the settlement on its way to prosperity. Instead of "Armentown" (Beggarstown), as someone suggested it be called, Germantown, largely through his efforts, eventually became one of the leading settlements in Penn's province. It was also the first distinctly German colony permanently established in Pennsylvania, and still retains, in exceptional condition, many of the reminders of its earlier days. Although no authentic portrait of Pastorius is known to exist, he gives the following picture of himself in one of his manuscripts:[2]

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[1] A photostat reproduction of the only existing copy known was secured by Dr. Carl F. Haussman for the German Society of Pennsylvania.

[2] Pastorius' Medicine Book, *Talia, Qualia, Medicinalia, Artificalia, Etc.*

"The compiler of this little manuscript is [of] a Melancholy —Cholerick Complexion, and therefore—gentle, given to sobriety, Solitary, Studious, doubtful, shame-faced, timorous, pensive, constant and true in action, of a slow wit with obliviousness, &c.

If any do him wrong,
He can't remember long."

A much criticized monument of him as "Germania" stands in Vernon Park near the main street of Germantown.

Quite a great deal that is of more than local historical interest centers in and near Germantown: Pastorius was more than a mere local character; William Rittenhouse built the first paper mill in the colonies full forty years before the first one in New England was erected at Milton, Massachusetts; Christopher Sauer was one of the most widely known and influential of the German publishers, and his press was the first to develop and use American-made type; James Logan, besides being Penn's most loyal secretary, was a noted scholar and left his books as a nucleus for one of the earliest and best libraries of the colonies; Thomas Godfrey gave the quadrant for the use of mariners, essentially in its present form, and his talented son was one of America's first dramatists; Thomas Rutter, a blacksmith from near Germantown, became one of the greatest of the colonial ironmasters; William Ashmead, a Germantown blacksmith, developed the light and comfortable "Germantown" carriages which continued in general use until the days of the automobile.

Washington's famous "Quadrilateral" included the Germantown region, and "Cliveden," the home of Chief Justice Chew, was a central influence in deciding

the Battle of Germantown; "Sally" Wister, a member of the famous Wister family, kept a most interesting "Journal" of Revolutionary events; Christopher Ludwig, the honest baker who supplied the American army with bread, lived in a farmhouse on the edge of the town; and Gilbert Stuart painted some of his famous portraits of Washington while living in Germantown. Louisa Alcott was born in the place; the ancestors of George Lippard, the novelist, lived there; and Harriet Livermore, the "Pilgrim Stranger" of Whittier's "Snowbound," was buried in its "Upper Burying Ground." In addition to the Chew mansion, "Wyck," where Lafayette was given a notable reception, remains in its buildings and grounds one of the finest examples of an early wealthy homestead.

The high, healthful location of Germantown, with all the charm of its rural surroundings and its convenience to Philadelphia, quite early made it a favorite residential section for people doing business in that city. Until 1854 it had its own municipal government and was free from the puritanical restrictions of the early Quaker control in Philadelphia. Writing of this early period Löher states:

> "It [Germantown] became now for a long time the resort of the Germans that they might establish themselves as dealers and artisans in Philadelphia or as farmers (in the woods), though perhaps as much because some desired nothing Quakerish."[1]

Even though the first religious meetings in Germantown were held by the Quakers, it was not like Philadelphia, predominantly a Quaker settlement. The Mystics under Kelpius were given a favorable recep-

[1] "*Deutschen im Amerika,*" von Franz Löher, Göttingen, 1855, p. 39.

tion in Germantown when they established themselves on the near-by ridges of the Wissahickon; the Mennonites had a congregation in Germantown before 1700 and in 1708 their first church building, William Rittenhouse being one of their preachers; and twenty families of Dunkards (now known as the Church of the Brethren) came to America in 1719 under the leadership of Peter Becker and settled in Germantown, being so well pleased with the place that ten years later, 1729, Alexander Mack, the founder of the sect, brought the entire remainder of his followers to Germantown.

The Moravians

A band of Moravians also found a welcome in Germantown. They at first had settled in Georgia under the leadership of the Rev. David Nitschman; but, being unwilling because of their religious principles to arm and join in a war on the Spaniards in Florida, who were inciting the Indians to hostility, a number of them removed to Germantown in 1738. The remainder, who had concluded to abandon their settlement entirely, were befriended by George Whitefield who was on a missionary tour in the South and who brought them with him on his ship to Philadelphia.[1] From there they joined their friends who were already located in Germantown. Whitefield had been deeply touched by the question of a Southern Negro, who asked him "Have I a soul?" and determined to provide a school where some of them could be trained as missionaries and sent back to the South for the elevation of their race. For this purpose he purchased 5000 acres on the Lehigh in what is now Northampton County, and which had

[1] Kriebel, *The Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania*, p. 110.

formed a "barony" left in trust for his daughter Letitia by William Penn.

In the fall of 1740 Whitefield employed a number of the skilled artisans among the Moravians that he had brought with him from Georgia to go into this wilderness and erect his proposed mission building. Being overtaken by severe weather, they erected a log house for themselves in which they spent the winter, but before resuming work in the spring their leader, Peter Boehler, learned that Whitefield could not secure the money necessary to carry out his project and the building was not then completed. Owing to a quarrel over a religious question Whitefield at first ordered the Moravians from his land, which he had named the "Barony of Nazareth"; but later he was persuaded to sell it to them. As the "Barony" carried with it certain governmental privileges, the deed required a certain annual tribute to the Penns in recognition of their superior authority. In this case the annual tribute was a rose; hence it has since been known as the "Barony of the Rose," and the "Rose Inn" became one of its famous hostelries.

In the meantime the Moravians purchased 500 acres in the same region and began a settlement to which the Moravian leader, Count Zinzendorf, who had sheltered them for several years on his estate at Herrnhut, Germany, and who himself had come to America late in 1741, gave the name "Bethlehem," because he dedicated the settlement to the cause of Christ on Christmas Eve of that year. These Moravians were almost entirely from the land of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, and had adopted the title of "Unitas Fratrum" (the United Brethren) because persecution had driven

them into a bond of close brotherhood. They were also known as "Herrnhutters," but more generally as "Moravians." Their European experiences, their wilderness surroundings, but more especially their poverty led them to adopt the communal plan for their settlement. As Bethlehem and its sister community of Nazareth formed one of the most successful efforts at community life attempted on American soil, its early plans are of great interest. Renan said many years ago:

> "Institutions founded on communism have a brilliant beginning, for communism always presupposes great exaltation; but they degenerate rapidly, being contrary to human nature."

No social and economic proposition in history has more often been received nor more often proved a failure although the Bethlehem-Nazareth community, with its well-organized religious background, succeeded admirably until in 1762, when with increased prosperity came the overwhelming appeal of individual initiative. However, even today some of the helpful features of their community plans are still in operation.

Their communal life, or, as they preferred to call it, their "Economy Plan," differed radically from the monastic life common in Europe in that, under certain wise restrictions: (*a*) marriage was not forbidden; (*b*) all were free to come and go at their pleasure; (*c*) social intercourse was encouraged; and (*d*) all were free to set up their own homes and separate establishments. Although most of their work was done in common and any surplus turned into the common treasury, separate substantial community buildings were erected as homes for the married couples, for the older girls and unmar-

ried women, the widows, and the single men and older boys. In these a somewhat monastic order and discipline were maintained, but with full encouragement to a social rather than a solitary life. The forests were cleared for farms, mills were built on the streams, and in a short time almost every industry known to the colonies was carried on in these, in the community houses, and in what came to be known as "The Old Row" of houses in Nazareth.

To promote sanctity and to hold the interest of the young people various religious organizations were formed, such as "The Order of the Swan" and "The Order of the Grain of Mustard Seed," each with its own insignia and each formed into a "choir" that rendered the sacred music for which the settlement became famous. The women in general dressed in white and wore a cap tied beneath the chin with a ribbon of a color that distinguished the married women from the unmarried and the widows. The men in general also dressed alike; and this regimentation in dress, and certain other formalities so common in early institutional life, soon spread abroad the rumor that these were true anchorites and that

> "the glimmering tapers shed forth light on cowled heads, and the nun's sweet hymn was heard singing low in the dim mysterious aisle."[1]

The saintly Spangenberg,[2] who had accompanied the colony to Georgia, had gone to Europe in the interests of his people but returned at once to the new settlement as its "bishop." He was assisted by the minister, a superintendent, and several brethren elected by the

[1] Cf. William C. Reichel's *The Crown Inn*, p. 24.
[2] The Rev. Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg.

community at large. The Bethlehem-Nazareth community was therefore in many respects a small but true patriarchal democracy.

There are three things for which these early Moravian settlements must always be accorded great credit: One was their sincere practical interest in the spiritual and economical betterment of the condition of the Indians; another their early and effective interest in education; and the third the great contribution they have made to an appreciation and love of music in America. They made a careful study of the language, customs, and traditions of the Indians, and established among them mission fields where not only their education and conversion to Christianity were sought, but where they were also both by precept and example given practical lessons in the ways of civilization and self-support. And the zeal and success of their missionaries in these fields were not limited to the near-by regions of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The late Theodore Roosevelt in his *Winning of the West* testifies to this. He says:

> "The zeal and success of the [Moravian] missionaries were attested by the marvelous changes they wrought in the converts; for they transformed them in one generation from a restless, idle, bloodthirsty people of hunters and fishers into an orderly, thrifty, industrious folk, believing with all their hearts the Christian religion in the form in which their teachers both preached and practiced it."

The Moravians believed thoroughly in the dictum of their own great countryman, John Amos Comenius, when he said: "Everyone ought to receive a universal education, and this at school"; and also in his further conviction, which was unique in his day, that women

"are endowed with equal sharpness of mind and capacity for knowledge" with men. A school opened by Zinzendorf's daughter, the Countess Benigna, in Germantown, was, in 1743, transferred to Bethlehem and her sixteen girls formed the nucleus from which has developed the deservedly famous "Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies."

A boys' school opened in a log building in Bethlehem grew so rapidly that it was transferred to the new and commodious "Nazareth Hall" erected for it in Nazareth. Both orphans and those whose parents were able to pay for their instruction were cared for in these institutions and in the community buildings where the younger children were under the care of the Moravian "Sisters."

Sacred music formed such an intimate part of the daily life of the people that their tasks were lightened by it, their burdens and troubles made the easier to bear, and nothing important undertaken without first being hallowed by it. Out of all of this developed instrumental and choral organizations of national fame and the annual "Bach Musical Festival" in May which has attained an international reputation. A rich field for further pursuit of the study of the history of the Unitas Fratrum is furnished by the "Diary" of the Moravian Church of this region, kept since 1742, and which with some 2000 rare volumes has been treasured in the principal Moravian Church in Bethlehem; another fruitful field being the library and museum of the "Moravian Historical Society," now housed in the building begun for Whitefield in Nazareth, and which was completed in 1743 to accommodate a large accession of Moravian settlers.

The Schwenkfelders

Several years before the arrival of the Moravians in the Valley of the Delaware, another band of Protestants arrived from Germany and formed scattered settlements in what was then the northern part of Philadelphia County. They were the followers of Casper Schwenkfeld, a Silesian nobleman who, like Penn, had been trained as a courtier and for some time had led a somewhat gay and purposeless life; but after his conversion he became a writer and leader along his own lines of interpretation of the Scriptures. He had been influenced by the teachings of Huss, the forerunner of the Moravians, and like Luther had dared to break away from the dogmas and authority of the prevailing Catholic hierarchy, although he and Luther soon got into a bitter controversy over questions of belief and practice. This ended in the hostility of both Lutherans and Catholics toward him and his followers. At the time of his death in 1562, he had some 4000 followers, but these were finally reduced by persecution and a lack of organization to a remnant of 400 or 500 who took refuge, like the Moravians, on the estate of Count Zinzendorf at Herrnhut. But Zinzendorf seems to have regarded himself as a divinely appointed "Reformer of the Schwenkfelders," and they removed to Berthelsdorf and Görlitz.

Upon the death of the Elector of Saxony, Frederick Augustus I, his son and successor listened to the appeals of the Jesuits to have all the Moravians returned to Silesia and to the control of the Roman Church. As a result they secretly, and in small groups in order to escape observation, withdrew to Holland with the purpose of migrating to Georgia for the colon-

ization of which at that time the philanthropist, James Oglethorpe, in behalf of the English government, was offering great inducements. But, owing to their poverty, they could not make the necessary arrangements with the "Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia" and then turned their attention to Pennsylvania, where one of their number, George Schultz, had already settled. Wealthy friends in Holland finally paid their passage money and provided them with ample food and, under "a very good captain" and "very good sailors who showed great patience" with them, they arrived in Philadelphia on the seventeenth of September, 1734. A week later, led by their pastor George Weiss, they gathered together, possibly in the Friends Meetinghouse at Second and High streets, and observed a day of thanksgiving for the kind Providence that had brought them in safety to a goodly land.

As "Gedachtniss-tag" this memorial has been observed annually ever since by the Schwenkfelders—a practice which led the late Samuel W. Pennypacker to say:

> "To George Weiss belongs an honor which cannot be accorded to John Robinson, William Penn, or George Calvert."

For this humble group of Germans was the only sect escaping from persecution to the shores of America to establish such a recognition of Divine leadership. Failing to secure an unsettled tract near the city large enough to accommodate all of them, and being unwilling to risk the dangers of the more remote regions, they finally agreed to separate and each locate for himself in the best available places. A few remained in Philadelphia, some in Germantown and Chestnut Hill, but

most of them settled as farmers along the Skippack and in the vicinity of Goshenhoppen[1] and Falckner's Swamp.

The independent thinking that naturally followed the breaking away from a long-established and authoritative form of religion during the period of the Reformation, had given rise to a great number of sects differing not so much in fundamentals as in theories of interpretation and in what we, after several centuries of spiritual enlightenment, are beginning to see as non-essentials. Like George Fox, Casper Schwenkfeld had little regard for the external sacraments of religion and also held that anyone who consecrated himself to holy living would be sufficiently enlightened in his interpretation of the Scriptures. But the atrocities committed in the name of the Church had led him to advocate the doctrine that, since he had accepted Christ as his Lord and Master and Christ had made him free, he need not pledge fealty to any church or body of believers. This was a unique idea and, though it won him many followers even among the nobility, it called down about every opprobrious epithet known to the German vocabulary upon him and his followers. It also developed an ostracism and persecution that finally led to the migration to Pennsylvania.

The scattered distribution of the Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania, combined with this lack of a religious organization, proved a bad thing for them and led to the loss of many followers through lukewarmness and worldliness. Pastor Weiss and his successor, Balzar Hoffman, fought hard to remedy this; but it was not until 1762, and then largely through the efforts of

[1] The Goshenhoppen region included the part of the Perkiomen Valley along the Perkiomen in the upper end of Montgomery County and extending into Berks County.

Christopher Schultz, that a sufficient number could be gathered together in the home of Christopher Kriebel to arrange for regular meetings and the preparation of a catechism for the teaching of religious truth to their children. These were all-day meetings held in the homes of the older people, the father of the household ("Haus-vater") being in each case responsible for the meeting. The afternoons of these meetings were devoted to the instruction of the children in the catechism which was published in 1765. But the need of some form of religious organization became so apparent that, in 1782, a constitution was adopted that effected a union under the name of "The Schwenkfelder Society." However, it was not until a century later that their first church building was erected; and even then sufficient prejudice against such sacraments as baptism and the Lord's Supper remained to make their adoption permissive rather than compulsory.

Two remarkable things about the Schwenkfelders are apparent: first, the persistence of the doctrines of their founder for more than two centuries without any other bond of affiliation than their common belief; and the second is the constant care manifested in the instruction of their children even when they had neither schoolhouse nor church. Some of the guiding principles adopted by them in 1764, when they decided to erect their first school building, are of vital importance in education even today: (1) it is the duty of parents to bring up their children in the fear of God and in useful knowledge; (2) a system of schools can lighten but not remove the duty of parents in these respects; (3) proper moral influences should underlie all instructions; (4) a teacher ought to be godly, educated, and of good re-

pute. The curriculum they then adopted included the reading of the Bible, the study of the catechism, the reading and writing of English and German, the study of arithmetic and geography, and "other useful branches." They also adopted the old-time practice of having at least two of the trustees of each school visit it once a month to see that both teacher and pupils were performing their duty.[1]

Though the opposition of the Schwenkfelders to war prevented their taking up arms, they furnished substitutes to help repel the attacks of the Indians during the French and Indian War, and this seems to have satisfied the authorities as well as their own consciences; but during the Revolution they, with other noncombatants, suffered from heavy fines and much ill will because of the widespread feeling on the part of others—

> "If we must march to the field of battle, he who will not take up arms must first be treated as an enemy."

The "Test Act," which was designed especially "to restrain the insolence of the 'Tories,'" and which went into effect in Pennsylvania July 1, 1777, bore especially heavy upon them as "neutrals." But all was borne with patience for they still seemed to feel as they had written Provincial Governor Morris in 1754:

> "We know very well that we cannot give sufficient thanks to the Almighty for having conveyed us into such a country, and under so mild a government where the best privileges in the known world are established."[2]

Although from 1682 to 1776 Pennsylvania was the great center of German and Swiss immigration, only

[1] *The Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania*, by H. W. Kriebel, p. 127.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

about 200 families from these countries arrived prior to 1702; and most of them came in 1685, thus escaping the desolations wrought in the Rhine Valley through the ambitions of Louis XIV and his bloodthirsty Marshall Turenne, whose inhumanity drove great hordes of the inhabitants into other lands. The records at Harrisburg indicate that between 40,000 and 50,000 of them came into Pennsylvania prior to the Revolution.[1] The policy of the English government to settle America without making inroads on their own population, combined with the energy of land agents and speculators, sent colonies into other parts of America; but the Valley of the Delaware remained the favorite region for the great mass of the Germans and Swiss.

German Settlements in West Jersey

The first German colony to arrive after 1702 was a band of the German Reformed faith that left Rhenish Prussia in 1705 with the purpose of settling in New York; but owing to adverse winds they landed in Philadelphia instead and then started overland for New York. However, when they reached the fertile valley of the Muscanetcong, a New Jersey branch of the Delaware, they were so well pleased with it that they concluded to settle there. This was the beginning of the "German Valley" settlements of Morris County which soon extended into the neighboring regions of the Raritan and other eastern New Jersey streams. That there were other German settlements made in New Jersey during the early half of the eighteenth century is indicated in the reports of the Moravian missionaries

[1] Rupp published a list of "Upwards of 30,000 names of German, Swiss, Dutch, and French" arriving in Pennsylvania between 1727 and 1776.

who speak of holding services at Trenton, Princeton, Raccoon, Maurice River, Penn's Neck, Cohansey, Maidenhead, Crosswicks, and Cranberry. There was also a settlement at a place called Hall Mill, some thirty miles from Philadelphia, and an important one known as the Hope Settlement, in Warren County. The latter was referred to by William Ellery and William Whipple, two signers of the Declaration of Independence who visited it in 1777 and spoke of "the strong, neat, and compact Moravian houses, mostly of stone, the mechanics' shops, the stores, and, above all, a mill, one of the finest in America."[1] The Moravian Brethren who had founded the Hope settlement sold the property in 1807 and removed the members to Bethlehem and other Moravian towns.

But a far greater influx of Germans occurred as a result of the offer of Queen Anne to provide for the impoverished Rhinelanders who were willing to go to America. So many of them flocked to London that the authorities did not know what to do with them. After enduring great hardships, 7000 of them returned to their native land; 3600 of them were sent to Ireland where their settlement for years was known as the "German Palatinate," the name "Palatines" being applied to all German settlers, because so many of them had fled from the Palatinate along the Rhine; 150 families were sent to South Carolina where, in 1711, many of them were murdered by the Tuscarora Indians; and 4000 of them were placed on ships to be sent to New York. After a six months' voyage during which 1700 of them died they arrived in New York in 1710. The Queen had provided a grant of land for them near New-

[1] Quoted from the "Diary" of William Ellery and William Whipple.

burgh, but Governor Hunter at once sent 1400 of the able bodied to Livingston Manor, presumably to work out their passage money. The orphan children were indentured in homes in New York and New Jersey, and the sick and widowed retained in New York.[1] Dissatisfied with their treatment on Livingston Manor a large colony of them, in the spring of 1714, removed to the Schoharie Valley, where they secured land with the expectation of making it their permanent home. But, when through their labors they had brought the land into a satisfactory state of cultivation, the cupidity of the governor followed them and on the pretext of defective titles they were deprived of their homes. Governor Keith, who was on a visit to Albany, learning of their misfortunes, then offered to secure desirable land for them in Pennsylvania.

Conrad Weiser

Conrad Weiser, who had become a leading man in the Schoharie settlement, at once arranged for thirty-three families to accept the governor's invitation. This Conrad Weiser had a son Conrad who was destined to become of great importance in the Indian affairs of the middle colonies during the period covered by the serious trouble with the French and Indians; for he had lived in the wigwam of an admiring Mohawk chief long enough to become familiar with the Indian dialects and to appreciate their habits and points of view. This younger Conrad Weiser, writing of the migration to Pennsyl-

[1] It is interesting to note that John Peter Zenger was the son of one of these widows. He was apprenticed to William Bradford and, after becoming editor of the *New York Weekly Mercury*, was thrown into jail for daring to criticize the government. This furnished the great case won by Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia for the freedom of the press.

vania, said they already knew of the desirable land on the Swatara and the Tulpehocken to which the governor had invited them. But a long distance and dense forests intervened. However, by combined effort and great labor they cut a road to the upper reaches of the Susquehanna and brought their cattle and movable goods there. They then built boats and floated down the river to the mouth of the Swatara. This stream they ascended until they reached the divide between the Susquehanna and the Schuylkill. Disembarking and driving their cattle before them they finally reached the Tulpehocken where they located about twenty miles west of Reading in what is now Berks County. This was in the spring of 1723.

Five years later another band from Schoharie joined them and helped to make the settlement one of the most prosperous ones of the province. For a time they were troubled by the claims of the Indians that the land had not been bought from them and that, therefore, Governor Keith had no right to sell it to them; but in 1732 the Proprietary secured from the Indians a grant of all the land drained by the Schuylkill included between the Blue Mountains and the Blue Ridge. This relieved them from any Indian menace until the French and Indian War broke out when they were among the first to suffer after Braddock's army was defeated and hostile Indians began to cross the mountains. Even the people of Reading were frightened and at one time abandonment of the town was seriously proposed. But the younger Conrad Weiser headed a force which assisted in driving back the western Indians and, through his efforts as Indian interpreter, the near-by Delawares were as a nation induced to remain neutral.

In his service as interpreter and mediator Conrad Weiser not only prevented a break between the English and the Iroquois but he was also able so to shape the policies of colonial Pennsylvania that for many years there was less trouble with the Indians in that province than in most of the other colonies. In doing this he also took a deep interest in the welfare of the Indians. He did what he could for their just treatment and was especially earnest in his endeavors to control the trade in rum which was so rapidly undermining their health and morals. They had confidence in him as their interpreter, for he was faithful to their interests and trustworthy in presenting the import of their words because of his grasp of their real spirit and meaning.[1] He also served as a valuable conciliator in the disputes and decimating wars arising among the Indians themselves. At Tulpehocken, Weiser cleared land and became a farmer, although in the winter season he combined the calling of schoolmaster with that of farming. He finally took up his residence near Womelsdorf where he died in 1760.[2]

Swiss Settlers

The records indicate that there were many German Swiss among the early settlers of the valley. Most of these had at various times fled from persecution and settled among the Germans of the Palatinate. This Swiss movement into Germany gained quite an impetus in 1711 when the authorities at Bern, anxious to get rid of

[1] The importance of such interpretation is indicated in an incident mentioned by Colonel Johnson of New York, who had great influence with the Mohawks. In a printed sermon sent out to be read to the Indians, the words "God is no respecter of persons," were interpreted to the Indians as "God has no respect for such as you"; and the resulting antagonism was not easily overcome.

[2] Cf. Walton's *Conrad Weiser*.

all Protestants, offered them free passage down the Rhine with the privilege of selling their properties provided they would pledge themselves not to return to Switzerland. A number of Mennonites (followers of Menno Simons) accepted this offer; but when they reached the Rhine, the men were separated from their families and forcibly carried down to Holland. There, through the intercession of the authorities, they were allowed to return to Mannheim only to find their women and children so widely scattered that "they knew not where they were to be found"—a cruelty similar to the one so graphically portrayed in Longfellow's "Evangeline." Gathering together their families as best they could, they settled near Campen and Grönigen where they remained until 1717, when they embarked for America. Upon their arrival they purchased a 10,000-acre tract along the Pequae in what is now Lancaster County, but which, until 1729, was a part of Chester County, one of the three original Pennsylvania counties of the Valley of the Delaware. The land was purchased in the name of Hans Herr and Martin Kündig.[1] Through fresh arrivals from the Palatinate, the land along the Conestoga and the Octorara was also soon occupied. Though these Mennonite colonists lived in the midst of the Pequae, Conestoga, and Shawanee Indians, they gained their good will by associating with them in their hunting and fishing; and they treated them so justly and humanly that the Indians for many years proved "hospitable and respectful" in return.

Before they built their own gristmills, the grain raised by these Pequae farmers was ground in the mills on the Brandywine, and for a number of years much of

[1] Cf. *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, Vol. 2, pp. 118–124.

their trade was carried on through Wilmington. They were excellent farmers and wisely gave their children an interest in the work that not only trained them in habits of industry but also tended to hold them on their farms. This was especially true in the Pequae Valley, which was often spoken of as the "Eden of Pennsylvania" because of the high fertility of its well-worked farms. Good land always attracted the German farmer and as early as 1726 or 27 Adam Müller was attracted to the fertile Shenandoah Valley, partly because a free homestead was offered to every head of a family who might settle there. He was followed by a shrewd fellow-countryman who, in order to receive as much land as possible, was accused of listing every male animal in his possession as the head of a family anxious to settle there.[1] In 1729 a band of Germans left Lancaster County and, following an Indian trail that crossed what are now York and Adams counties, entered Maryland and settled on the Monocacy near the Pennsylvania border. This Indian trail was again followed by another group that found their way into the Shenandoah Valley, where an intermingling with Scotch-Irish blood occurred which produced a sturdy, independent stock for the Revolution and the early days of the republic. After 1735 the Germans began to settle west of the Susquehanna, especially along the line of the Indian trail which came to be known as the "Monocacy Road." The notorious speculator, John Law, persuaded a number of Germans to go to Louisiana as an earthly paradise, and King George II endeavored to settle a German colony in Nova Scotia. Altogether, the Germans were the most widely disseminated and the

[1] Cf. Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, Vol. II, p. 192.

most ruthlessly exploited of all the early American colonists.

Not only were they the victims of "land sharks" before they were able to embark, but they were also subjected to unscrupulous treatment after they landed. The Philadelphia merchants had provided "Sick Houses" to which sick immigrants could be taken upon their arrival; but it was not easy, because of the great number of arrivals, to keep them as well provisioned and cared for as the condition of the sick required, especially in severe weather. Richard Wister, who was himself a German immigrant, called the attention of the Provincial Council to the needs of these sick people December 21, 1751. He denounced especially a class of "impostors" who, as sea captains and shipping agents, renounced all responsibility for their passengers, regardless of their helplessness, after they had landed them. He said:

> "There are People in Years, others with several small children & especially Widows with small children, who not being able to pay their Passages, nor fit to be bound out as Servants, [these Imposters] generally keeping their Chests which contain their Cloathes, Tools, etc., and often best beding as a farther Security. [They are] dispersed as Lodgers in many Houses in town, in the outskirts, & in small Plantations near it, generally destitute of necessaries, not only to restore them to Health, but even to keep them alive; such as are able go a begging to the Terror & Danger of the Inhabitants, who from the smell of their Cloathes when brought near a Fire & infectious Disorder which many of them are not free from, apprehend themselves in great Danger."[1]

The birth of a child was a source of congratulation in a German family, for it meant an additional helper to be

[1] Cf. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Series I, Vol. 2, p. 217.

taught not only the habits of labor but a love of it and its fruits. They set a great value on patrimonial property, so that children looked forward with assurance to sharing eventually in the products of their labor. This helped to make them the most successful of America's farmers. But, notwithstanding their thrift and general good common sense, they were superstitious in regard to the influence of the moon on planting and pruning trees and on sowing and reaping grains. They also believed in the use of the divining rod for locating favorable places for digging wells, and in the power of certain old people who had attained local fame for incantations and magic formulas. And though they were rapidly assimilated with other nationalities where their numbers were few, wherever they formed almost the entire population they have retained many of their beliefs and distinctive characteristics even up to the present day. The recent trial of persons from a German community in York County, Pennsylvania, for the murder of a man who sold them magical formulas that did not produce the promised results, shows how persistently such superstitions cling to a people who have retained more or less successfully their own community life.[1]

But there were also German colonists who were noted as mechanics or as merchants in the busy localities where many of them acquired wealth. As on the farms, these mechanics and merchants were noted for their industry, their frugality, their punctuality, and their integrity. The mechanics followed the trades brought with them from the fatherland, although many of them

[1] The writer recalls seeing an old German "witch doctor" essaying to cure poll evil in a horse by mysterious words and passes of his hand over the diseased spot.

quite early branched out into manufacturing on a larger scale than they had known in Germany. This was especially true of the weaving industry that developed so fully in Germantown; and of the iron, glass, and pottery industries that developed elsewhere in the Delaware Valley, and in which they shared the honors equally with the English. The fact that they brought with them their teachers, who were often also their ministers, shows their interest in education. They did, however, at first, oppose the introduction of free public schools because of their fear that the teaching, which was in English, would soon supplant their own language and customs. They also held to the old Continental idea that parents should pay for the instruction of their children.

That some of them emphasized material prosperity at the expense of the cultural growth of their children is no doubt true; and yet, had it not been for the art and literature, crude and limited in scope as most of it was, that they brought with them from Germany, the people of the Valley of the Delaware would not have had such a sound foundation for much of its later development in music, art, and literature. As to their general ability for advanced development, it is sufficient to mention such men of the Valley of the Delaware who were of German descent as David Rittenhouse, the astronomer; Casper Wistar and Joseph Leidy, eminent in the medical profession; H. E. Muhlenberg, the botanist; S. S. Haldeman, the naturalist; and the long and honorable list of others who attained fame in their chosen profession. As Doctor Rush has said, their industry and devotion to their chosen occupations have furnished a worthy example to the rest of the popula-

tion. Governor Thomas, in 1738, paid the following tribute to the German settlers of Pennsylvania:

> "This Province has been for many years the asylum of the distressed Protestants of the Palatinate and other parts of Germany; and, I believe, it may truthfully be said, that the present flourishing condition of it is in great measure owing to the industry of those people; it is not altogether the fertility of the soil, but the number and industry of the people, that makes a country flourish."[1]

[1] *Colonial Records*, IV, p. 315.

Chapter VI

THE SCOTCH AND IRISH IMMIGRANTS

So many forces and nationalities took part in the shaping of our national life that it is not always easy to single out the contribution of any one of them. But a fair understanding of the previous history and character of any of the American colonists who in their native lands clung to their ideals, even in the face of adverse conditions, assists in an appreciation of their influence, especially if they came to the colonies at any one period in appreciable numbers. In no other way can the part played by the subjects of this chapter during the formative period of our history be seen, because of their tendency toward frontier life and scattered settlements. Both the Scotch and the Irish were individualists and always restless under their home conditions. Fearless and aggressive, they emigrated in large numbers and through their qualities of leadership have always contributed more to the history of other countries than they have to the welfare of their own lands. There is usually one person who is the dominating influence in any community, be it large or small; there is usually also one idea ruling in the minds of a people at any one time; and if there was one of either of these nationalities at hand in any part of our colonial life, he was apt to be the leading spirit in either case.

The strengthening of English control over Ireland under James I was facilitated by the lack of united

resistance on the part of its independent war lords, who were then living in a somewhat barbarous and entirely shiftless manner and in almost constant warfare with one another. He met with his greatest opposition in the Ulster region of northern Ireland. But having completely overthrown the lords of the region, he seized their lands and adopted the policy of peopling the region with Presbyterians from Scotland. The Reformation, which in England had developed into a state church with severe persecution of all nonconformists, in Scotland, through persecution, had produced the equally arbitrary Presbyterian kirk. But the kirk had a representative form of government, through its presbyters and synods, which fostered independence of thought in its members; and, after a decision had been reached, it also fostered a cohesiveness and unity of purpose which served these members well under persecution or wherever stability of purpose found a place.

This was the character of the people from among whom King James, himself a Scotchman, enrolled a large colony that in 1610 removed to Ireland and occupied the lands of six of the Ulster chiefs whom he had subdued. He hoped through their moral influence and trustworthiness, and especially through their thrift and industry as farmers and artisans, to check the insubordination and improve the character of the native Irish. This experiment might have succeeded in this case, had it not been for other influences that entered in and induced most of these Scotch living on Irish soil to emigrate to America. The determined efforts of Lord Strafford, who had been made Lord Deputy of Ireland, to enforce religious conformity to the Church of England led a number of these Scotch-Irish Presby-

terians, in 1636, to embark for New England. But a storm drove them back and convinced them "the Lord intended they should endure and not flee." But their position grew increasingly hard. During the conflicts between the Parliamentary party and Royalty at the time of Cromwell's power, their independent attitude brought them under the condemnation of both parties. They were also still regarded by the native Irish as interlopers. And when, in addition, their industrial life was threatened by the high tariff restrictions placed by England on their principal industries—stock raising and the production of linen and woolen goods—their situation became such that they made their second attempt to migrate to New England. But this migration gained but little headway; for

> "The emigration to New England was from the first regarded with anxiety and distrust by the leading people there."

It was hardly to be expected that the stern Puritan and the determined Scot would get along well together. Certain natural influences then became operative which turned their attention to the Middle Colonies.

Before the end of the seventeenth century Scottish merchants had built up an important commerce with these colonies, a commerce in which the Ulster Scotch were deeply interested. This trade aroused the jealousy of the English merchants to such an extent that they finally secured its entire prohibition, but not before both the Scotch and the Ulster-Scotch had become interested in the Middle Atlantic region as a desirable place in which to settle. As early as 1677 a Scotch migration to New Jersey had begun, largely through the influence of Gawen Lawrie, James Drummond

(Earle of Perth),[1] and a number of others, "mostly Scottish gentlemen of enterprise and means," who with William Penn had secured proprietary rights in East New Jersey. In regard to this migration Smith, in his *History of New Jersey,* wrote:

> "There were soon four towns in the Province, viz., Elizabeth, Newark, Middletown, and Shrewsbury: and these with the country round were in a few years plentifully inhabited by the occasion of Scotch, of whom there came a great many."

But it was not until in 1718 that the great wave of Ulster-Scotch became distinctly noticeable. Some of these immigrants located along the west side of the Hudson near Kingston, from which the Walkill Valley extends southwestwardly to the regions of the upper Delaware. Their restless overflow met and joined in with the East New Jersey overflow which extended its settlements across the hilly part of the Jerseys and soon entered Pennsylvania by the way of the forks of the Delaware at Easton. In this general region they both merged with a far heavier stream which, from 1718 to 1770, poured into the valleys of the Delaware and the Susquehanna through the port of Philadelphia. During this period it is estimated that more than half of the population of the ancient province of Ulster came to America.[2] In the one year, December, 1728, to December, 1729, out of 6,208 immigrants landing in Philadelphia 5,605 were Ulster-Scotch. So great was their preponderance that all of the early Scotch settlers were apt to be called "Scotch-Irish" to distinguish them from the native Irish who, however, did not come in large numbers until many years later.

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[1] After whom Perth Amboy was named.
[2] Fiske's *Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America,* Vol. II, p. 335.

Courtesy, Charles S. Boyer

Old Newton Burying Ground. Used by the Irish Friends who settled on Newton Creek near Camden, New Jersey, in 1682. It has an interesting monument composed of old tombstones.

The higher, more rugged grounds of the Appalachians, with their intervening fertile valleys, seemed to have an especial attraction for them; and their settlements, by the time of the Revolution, were scattered all the way from southeastern New York and northern New Jersey across Pennsylvania to the Shenandoah Valley and eastern Kentucky. This heavy influx of one nationality so alarmed the authorities that James Logan, in a letter written in 1729, says:

> "It looks as if Ireland is to send all its inhabitants hither, for last week not less than six ships arrived, and every day two or three arrive also. The common fear is that if they continue to come they will make themselves proprietors of the Province."[1]

That Logan, as agent of the Penns, did not get along comfortably with these strong-minded immigrants is indicated in a letter he wrote the next year, 1730:

> "I must own, from my experience in the land office, that the settlement of five families from Ireland gives me more trouble than fifty of any other people."

Again he complains of their "audacious and disorderly manner," because they had without leave or purchase taken possession of "Conestoga Manor," a 15,000-acre tract of choice land reserved by the Penns for themselves. Their excuse for this he says was only that

> "It was against the laws of God and nature, that so much land should be idle while so many Christians wanted it to labor on and raise bread."

[1] Logan already had experience with them and his fears had sufficient background if we accept the gist of the following story: A prospective settler in the West entered a small but growing city where, upon inquiry, he learned there were but two Irishmen in the entire population. He was about to leave with the remark, "This is evidently no place for the Irish," when his informer replied, "Oh, I don't know. Although there are only two Irishmen in the place, one of them is Mayor and the other one City Treasurer."

Logan's successor, Richard Peters, had similar trouble when the Scotch-Irish without warrant settled on the "Manor of Maske," a tract of about 40,000 acres reserved by the Penns in what is now Adams County, Gettysburg being within its limits.[1] A restless spirit of adventure had led them across the Susquehanna into the beautiful Cumberland Valley, which extends from the Susquehanna southwestwardly almost to the Potomac, and from which was carved Cumberland and Franklin counties, Cumberland County being even as early as 1730 predominantly a Scotch-Irish settlement. They were well adapted to frontier life and followed its westward trend into the valleys of the Allegheny and Ohio. So many of them settled at the junction of the Allegheny and the Monongahela that it has been said of Pittsburgh that it is Scotch-Irish in

> "substantial origin, in complexion and history. . . . Scotch-Irish in the countenances of the living and the records of the dead."[2]

The occupation of these frontier lands by these aggressive people compelled the Proprietary government to purchase the Indian lands involved, in order to prevent serious trouble between them and the natives.

Although the Scotch-Irish, as well as the Scotch who entered the Valley of the Delaware, were almost exclusively Presbyterians, there were other Irish who were Quakers. Some of the earliest missionary efforts of the Quakers were on Irish soil. As a result several strong meetings of the "Society of Friends," as they were most truly called, were established in Ireland some years

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[1] Cf. Hanna's *The Scotch-Irish.*

[2] *The Scotch-Irish in Western Pennsylvania,* by John Dalkell, at the *Second Scotch-Irish Congress,* p. 175.

before Penn had secured his grant of Pennsylvania. One of these meetings was in Dublin where lived Robert Turner who became a strong coworker and friend of Penn. He was a Dublin linen draper who had accumulated what was a large fortune for his day. But, as an outspoken Quaker, this did not save him from persecution. In Londonderry, while testifying to his faith, he was dragged "by his armes and Leggs" through the streets. And on another occasion he was tied upon "a Bare horse Back with a Hair Rope" for the sport of the people who "mocking led him at their pleasure." He was one of the twenty-four proprietors who, including Penn, had purchased East New Jersey from Carteret's heirs. This gave him an interest in American colonization and a few years later we find him joining with Robert Zane and other Dublin Friends in securing the land on Newton Creek (in the Camden-Gloucester region), where the Irish-Quaker settlement was made in 1681–82.

Later when Penn matured his plans in regard to Pennsylvania, he evidently kept Turner informed of them, for the day after Penn received his charter he wrote to him: "Thou mayest communicate my graunt to friends, and expect shortly my proposals."[1] Turner then bought the 5000-acre tract secured from him by the Gwynedd Welsh settlers, and with it the city lot at the southwest corner of Front and Mulberry (Arch) Streets on which he built the first brick house in Philadelphia after his arrival on October 14, 1683. He and Samuel Carpenter also had the first wharves in the city and were regarded as its wealthiest citizens. Turner's Quaker certificate of removal describes him as a "Wid-

[1] Winsor's *Memorial History of Boston*, III, p. 477.

dow man and clear from all women upon account of marriage."[1] He came on the ship *Lion* and brought with him seventeen "indentured servants." On the same ship were Joseph Fisher and his wife Elizabeth, from near Dublin; Margaret Calver, "late of Dublin"; and a number of others, evidently many of them redemptioners. Albert Cook Myers in his *Immigration of the Irish Quakers* speaks of Ann Milleum, who arrived late in 1682 with a certificate from one of the Quaker meetings for herself and children, and who settled in Bucks County; Nicholas Newlin, who settled in Concord, then in Chester County, in 1683; and a number of others who had been influenced by the favorable reports concerning the Valley of the Delaware and who were among its early settlers. Ford says that soon after 1720 the Scotch-Irish began to settle in large numbers in Bucks County. The Neshaminy Church established about 1726 he regards as a proof of this.[2] This is the church of which the Rev. William Tennent, of "Log College" fame, became the pastor.[3]

The more northern expansion of Scotch-Irish is marked by the establishment of two Presbyterian churches in Northampton County, Pennsylvania, in 1738. One of these was the "East Allen Church," the other, the "Mount Bethel Church." This region at that time was a frontier of the province, and the "Gnadenhutten Massacre" in 1755 took place not far west of these Scotch-Irish settlements. One portion of these settlers had come from New England where, 1717–20, they had lo-

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[1] *Some Genealogical Notes Regarding Robert Turner*, by William Brooke Rawle.

[2] Cf. Ford's *Scotch-Irish in America.*

[3] Some claim this church was established 1710, but Davis in his *History of Bucks County* refutes this. Vol. I, pp. 300–2.

cated at Boston, Worcester, and on the banks of the Kennebeck. But they had been received so inhospitably in Worcester and found the winters in Maine so severe that they left these regions and traveled overland to the forks of the Delaware. Here, a short distance north of the region now occupied by Bethlehem and Easton, they formed what came to be known as the "Irish Settlement" of Northampton County.[1]

The presence of Scotch-Irish in New England is accounted for by the fact that during the period of persecution of nonconformists in England, many Puritan pastors found refuge among the Ulster-Scotch. The Scotch-Irish therefore, naturally, felt that the Puritans in America should prove to be their best friends. But the persecuted, nonconformist Puritans from England soon revealed the fact that they would not brook nonconformity to their church-state dogmas when they set up for themselves in America. Not only were Roger Williams and Ann Hutchinson compelled to flee from the Massachusetts Bay Colony for daring to hold to religious independence, but a number of Puritans themselves withdrew from the New Haven Colony because they felt "an aristocracy of the saints" had developed there that was inimical to their interests. They removed to Long Island, from which a number of them settled in East New Jersey and by joining forces with their strong-minded Scotch-Irish friends finally successfully opposed the proprietary governor and broke up the Assembly "in some disorder." And there is no record of any other Assembly being held thereafter for seven years.[2]

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[1] Rev. John C. Clyde's *Irish Settlements in Northampton County*, p. 214.
[2] Cf. Mulford's *Civil and Political History of New Jersey*, p. 149ff.

Although Philadelphia soon became the favorite port of entry for the Middle Colonies on account of its accessibility not only to Pennsylvania lands but also to the Hudson and Chesapeake regions, landings of Scotch-Irish were also made at Lewes and New Castle, both of which had Presbyterian congregations as early as 1698.[1] The Scotch-Irish records of these more southern parts of the Valley point to a tract known as "New Munster," located on the east side of the Elk River and which, in 1683, was surveyed to Edwin O'Dwier and "fifteen other Irishmen." So many others joined them that they were able to organize a Presbyterian Church at the head of the Christiana in 1708. Two years later another congregation was established near Odessa; and "Old Drawyers," with the Scotch-Irish settlements made near it, still remains as one of the interesting reminders of the past. The records of the "Presbytery of New Castle" show that, in 1720, "A certain number of people, lately come from Ireland," who had settled on the branches of the Elk River, had asked for a minister to come to preach to them. The Rev. Samuel Young was sent and established a congregation at the "head of Elk."

But there evidently was a Scotch-Irish settlement on the peninsula formed by the joint action of the Delaware and the Susquehanna much earlier than these. An old Somerset County, Maryland, record shows that as early as 1672 the need of spiritual care of its people was felt and services arranged for. Col. William Stevens had settled on the Pocomoke River in 1665 and named the region Rehoboth, meaning "There is room." Although he was an Episcopalian, he joined heartily in petitioning

[1] The congregation at Lewes really dates from 1692.

the Ulster Presbyterians for a minister. This brought the Rev. Francis Makemie to Rehoboth, probably in 1683. Through his ministrations churches were organized on the Pocomoke and later in Snow Hill and Princess Anne. The church on the Pocomoke was named Rehoboth and was replaced in 1706 by the existing building, which is said to be the oldest Presbyterian church building in America. A monument has been erected near by honoring Francis Makemie as the father of Presbyterianism in the United States.[1]

James Logan, himself of Scotch blood, writing to Penn in 1724, said that many of the Scotch-Irish coming in at that time settled toward the Maryland line and that they rarely approached him with proposals for purchase, as they were

> "bold and indigent strangers, saying as their excuse, when challenged for titles, that we had solicited for Colonists and they had come accordingly."

They were, however, dealt with leniently as land was plentiful and they formed a cordon of defense between the Indians and the less militant Quakers. Samuel Gordon Smyth, in his *Scotch-Irish Pioneers of the Schuylkill Valley,* says that with their restless disposition and taste for aggressiveness[2] they found a more ready opportunity for satisfaction on the frontiers of civilization, where they at first located but "nowhere in sufficient numbers to form a distinct settlement." Sherman Day, in his *Historical Collections of Pennsylvania,* claims that before the Revolution there were fifty or sixty such scattered Scotch-Irish settlements

[1] Cf. An article by Charles D. Holland in the *Baltimore Sun* referred to in the *Literary Digest* for October 28, 1933.

[2] One of the Moravian leaders at Bethlehem declared they had learned to fear an angry Irishman more than an offended Indian.

in New Jersey and over 130 in Pennsylvania.[1] Many of Washington's best troops came from these settlements. As many of their settlements were too small to support a church, they joined in with other denominations and developed a tolerance unknown to their Presbyterian brethren in Scotland. Where they established their own church, the history of the community is always closely associated with it, just as the history of any Quaker community is best learned through the records of its meetinghouse.

There were four fairly well-defined periods of American immigration on the part of the Scotch and the Irish. First, the period when they were attracted to America during the middle and latter half of the seventeenth century, as a result of the profitable commerce with the colonies which revealed the opportunities they afforded for civil and religious liberty and for reaping the fruits of labor. Some of these settlers located in New England, some in East New Jersey, and some in the lower reaches of the Delaware. The second period began in 1718, when the trade and industrial restrictions of the English government and the ecclesiastical bigotry of the English Church caused thousands of the Scotch from the north of Ireland to migrate to America. Through all the bitter years after the death of Cromwell, and which followed the Restoration, the Ulster Plantation received large accessions of persecuted Scotch Covenanters against whom the Stuarts were especially cruel. This was attended with great prosperity in northern Ireland, owing to the intelligence and industry of its population. Agriculture prospered and the woolen industry in particular reached a high state of develop-

[1] Cf. *Historial Collections of Pennsylvania*, by Sherman Day, p. 525.

From photographs taken 1899

Stenton—Built by James Logan, Penn's secretary, 1728. Details: (1) Front view; (2) Rear, showing servants' quarters; (3) Front door and steps; (4) Lock and bar of front door; (5) Hall and front stairs; (6) Inside shutter with bar, window box and light holes; (7) Fireplace with early form of grate; (8) Rising sun china closet; (9) Grate with fire backs with "J. L., 1728"; (10) Dutch tiles; (11) Private burying ground with vault with underground passageway to cellar of house.

ment. But in 1698, upon demand of the English manufacturers, a series of repressive Parliamentary acts destroyed the woolen industry that the Ulstermen had so energetically built up. This was followed in 1704 by a Test Act that was aimed at all nonconforming Protestants. Under this act nonconformists to the Church of England could hold only the most petty offices; they were forbidden to keep schools; marriages by their ministers were declared illegal and the issue of such marriages regarded as bastards; and even the dead were denied burial in their ancestral churches. While the suppression of industry affected only the artisan class, this Test Act affected all classes.

For a time it seemed as if Parliament would be induced to rescind or at least to modify this act, but by 1718 all such hopes were abandoned

> "and therefore ships enough could not be found to carry from Ulster to America the men who were unwilling to live except in the air of religious freedom."[1]

A third great influx began after the absentee landlords of Ireland, in 1772, raised the rentals of their land to a point that resulted in wholesale evictions of tenants unable to meet these demands. As most of the Ulster farmers were tenants, this resulted in their leaving for America to an extent that almost depopulated whole counties. Froude says that within two years 30,000 of these evicted farmers crossed to America, and most of them entered by the way of the ports of the lower Delaware. A fourth period during which emigration to America was marked, and which was general for all Ireland, followed in the wake of the famine of 1846–47.

[1] Froude's *The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 392ff.

This famine was the result of the failure of the potato crop on which so many Irish families depended. Wells says the outpouring of emigrants was then so heavy that it left Ireland for a time "a land of old people and empty nests."[1] Even before this famine occurred the Irish peasants were reported to be "the worst clad, worst fed, and worst lodged peasantry of all Europe."[2]

Through the interest of the Scotch settlers in Ireland in education, the province of Ulster soon attained the reputation of having the lowest percentage of illiteracy of any of the English possessions. And Webster in his history of the *Presbyterian Church in America* says their emigration to America

> "brought over many schoolmasters, and few Presbyterian settlements were without schools for most of the year. It was rare to find one (except among the servants, and even among them it was very rare) who could not read and who did not possess a Bible. . . . Family instruction was not neglected; the catechism was gone through on Sabbath by parents, children, and servants; sermons were repeated and the points of the doctrine duly compared with the Scripture."

Many of the Scotch-Irish schoolmasters either attained fame themselves or were the instructors and inspiration of distinguished men. The Tennents were a family of distinguished ministers and teachers and the father, the Rev. William Tennent, through the influence of his "Log College," was one of the inspiring influences that led to the founding of Princeton University. The Rev. Francis Allison, who came to America in 1735, was the principal influence in the education of Charles Thomson, who was secretary of the Congress during the

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[1] Cf. Wells's *Outline of History*, p. 1017.

[2] *The History of the Irish Settlers in North America*, by Thomas D. McGee, p. 135.

trying period of the Revolution. Allison was a sterling patriot and when Franklin wrote him: "The sun of liberty has set, the Americans must light the lamps of industry and economy," he replied: "Be assured that we shall light torches of a very different sort."

Thomson in his early life was also a teacher, having taught in Philadelphia and in a Friends school in New Castle, Delaware.[1] Two other famous Scotch-Irish schoolmasters were the Rev. James Finley, who came to America in 1734, and in 1761 was selected as the president of Princeton which was then the "College of New Jersey"; the other was the Rev. Samuel Blair, who established a classical and theological school at "Fagg's Manor," Pennsylvania, about 1740.[2]

James Wilson

Hanna in his book, *The Scotch-Irish,* has noted a number of prominent Americans of this Scotch and Scotch-Irish stock. Alexander Hamilton was Scotch on the paternal side; John Rutledge was an Ulster Scot; James Wilson, whom Bancroft pronounced to be the most learned civilian of the Constitutional Convention, "than whom none were more influential, sagacious, or far seeing," was Scotch-Irish. McMasters says of him that although Madison has been called the "Father of the Constitution," James Wilson was undoubtedly the best prepared of the fifty-five delegates, by his deep and systematic study of the history and science of government, for the work of helping to give it vitality and adaptation to the real needs of the people. It was

[1] *Irish Schoolmasters in American Colonies,* by Lenehan and Murray.
[2] *Ibid.*

also largely due to his influence that the Constitution was adopted by Pennsylvania.

Wilson's home was a large brick house at the southwest corner of Third and Walnut streets, Philadelphia. An event occurred here in 1779 which showed the extent of the bitterness of feeling that had developed against the Tories in the later days of the Revolution. Although Wilson had voted for independence and took part in the various patriotic movements, he felt the injustice of some of the measures adopted against anyone suspected of being favorable to the British cause; and when, as a lawyer, he defended some of these in court, the feeling against him rose so high that he learned a mob intended to attack his home. Robert Morris, General Thomas Mifflin, Captain Campbell, and several others joined with him in its defense. An attempt by some of the mob to force their way into the house was followed by firing from both sides, during which Captain Campbell and a man and a boy in the street were killed. A number of persons were also wounded by bullets and the charges of the City Troop, which had been called out to subdue the mob. After that Wilson's house was often referred to as "Fort Wilson."

Of the colonial governors sent to America prior to 1776, upwards of forty of them were of Scottish blood. Thomas Jefferson is said to have imbibed many of his liberal ideas of government from Dr. William Small, a Scotch professor at William and Mary College. There is also a notable list of army and navy heroes; and in literature such notable names as Irving, Poe, Thomas Nelson Page, and Joel Chandler Harris. These are mentioned because of the Scottish influence that seems to have found its best early American setting in

the Valley of the Delaware and in the adjoining regions of New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

Few of these Scotch and Scotch Ulstermen were socially poor peasants, such as were so many of the native Irish who came to America after the dreadful Irish famine in the year 1846–47. Many of them had been well educated at the universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and a number of them were skilled artisans, manufacturers, or men of means who located in the larger centers of population. But the great majority of them were small farmers and sought homes where land could be obtained the most readily. Their tendency, therefore, was always toward the frontiers where, because of their scattered settlements, few realized their numbers or the great influence they were exerting upon our forming life and character. The Irish schoolmaster and the learned Scotch professor were but two types of their influential people; for both Scotland and Ireland for many years sent into our colonies probably the highest percentage of families fitted for leadership of any of the countries that contributed in a marked degree to the building up of our American life.

As the streams of settlement moved to the West and to the South, this became more noticeable and it only required the crises of great issues, like those leading to the Revolution and the formative period of our self-government, to call forth these qualities of leadership. Ramsey in his *History of the American Revolution*[1] claims that the Scotch-Irish were almost to a man on the side of independence.—

> "They had fled from oppression in their native country, and could not brook the idea that it should follow them.

[1] See p. 597 of Ramsey's *History of the American Revolution.*

> Their natural prepossessions in favor of liberty were strengthened by their religious opinions. They were Presbyterians and therefore mostly Whigs."

In their presbyteries it was deemed an offense worthy of discipline for any minister to exhibit British sympathies, so deep-grained was their dislike of all things English. Like the Independents of New England and the Quakers of the Middle Colonies their characters were shaped by their religion; and in summing up the influences that have shaped the character of the people of the Delaware and allied valleys and the far-reaching influences radiating out from them, we must unquestionably give a large place to these Scotch and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians.

Chapter VII

FRENCH COLONISTS AND REFUGEES

The French who came to America in colonial days were for the most part Huguenots (French Protestants) who fled from their land because of religious persecution. Most of them had first gone to Holland or England, although some of them found their way into the New World by the way of the Palatinate where they had mingled with German Protestants. This was especially true in regard to French immigrants from Alsace and Lorraine. Some reached the colonies by the way of The Antilles and some, the Walloons, came directly from their homes in the southwestern part of Belgium and the adjacent regions of France. Then there were also some Waldensians from the Piedmont valleys on the border line of France and Italy, as well as a number of refugees who fled from France to escape the horrors of the French Revolution and the political changes following the downfall of Napoleon.

Although the conditions under which these people emigrated were such that they were able to form but few large and distinct settlements, almost every influential French settler, and there were many such, soon found his American home a center of attraction for others whom he could befriend, and where for some years at least the language and customs of their native land could be maintained. In the main, all French emigrants had to escape from France individually or in

small groups; and one of the difficulties of tracing their history lies in the fact that they were often so completely amalgamated with the people of their European refuge as to lose their identity before coming to America. After their arrival here, untutored transcribing clerks and efforts to Anglicize names have helped to conceal identity and added to the difficulties of the historian and the genealogist. Under these conditions Dubois became Van der Bosch and Leblanc became De Witt in Holland, and the Tonneliers were known as Kieffers by the time they were settled in Pennsylvania;[1] and Madam Ferree had borne the names of Warenbür, Wemar, and Fiere before she finally located in the Pequae Valley.

To understand the Huguenot emigration it is necessary to go back to the early days when the Reformation movement laid a strong hold upon France, and John Calvin located in Geneva and became the virtual head of Protestantism in both France and Switzerland. Calvin was an aggressive as well as fearless leader, and could not resist the temptation to make the Reformation a matter of politics as well as of religion. A number of the nobility and otherwise influential people early espoused the Protestant cause, and a series of wars followed in which the Protestants were at first successful. But in 1572 they were betrayed into laying down their arms, and the frightful massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day followed and started the exodus from France. However, the Protestants rallied their forces and, in 1598, secured the Edict of Nantes, which granted them valuable though somewhat limited concessions under which they greatly prospered, especially in the fields of industry.

[1] Cf. Fosdick's *French Blood in America*, p. 291.

Then followed, in 1685, the revocation of the Edict by Louis XIV, who used every possible pretext to exterminate Protestantism not only in France but also in the lower valley of the Rhine.[1] Under the almost unimaginable cruelties of his leaders and their soldiery, began a stampede of Huguenots which drained France of most of its skilled artisans and many of its best families. They fled to the Netherlands, to England, to the Palatinate, to New France, and direct to the American colonies. Some of the Huguenots who fled to Holland married into prominent Dutch families and as a result New Netherlands (New York) became quite an asylum for Huguenot colonists; and the Albany records show that by 1656 a sufficient number settled in the province to make it advisable to issue public documents in French as well as in English.[2]

There is evidence that among the first white settlers on the Delaware were four Huguenot couples who formed part of the little band of thirty brought to New York in the spring of 1623 by Jesse de Forest. In an investigation, made February 14, 1684–85, by the Governor of New York as to the validity of the Dutch claim to the first permanent occupation of the Delaware, Catalina Trico or Trego, "aged fouer score yeares or thereabouts," testified:

> "That she came to this Province [New York] either in the yeare one thousand six hundred and twenty three or twenty fouer to the best of her remembrance, and that fouer women came along with her in the same ship—which fouer women were married at Sea, and that they and their husbands stayed

[1] "The League of the Holy Union," with the bloodthirsty Philip II of Spain at its head, had, at an earlier period, been formed for a similar purpose.

[2] Cf. *Albany Records*, XIV, p. 233; IV, pp. 425, 461; and XVII, p. 295. Also Weiss' *History of French Protestant Reformation*, II, p. 304.

about three weeks at this place and then they with eight seamen more went in a vessel by order of the Dutch Governr to Delaware river and there settled."[1]

As this, no doubt, referred to the settlement of Fort Nassau, where Captain Mey had built his fort in 1623, these Huguenots were among the very first white settlers on the Delaware.

However, the first Huguenot of note to locate in the Valley of the Delaware was Peter Minuit, a Walloon under whose leadership the town of Christinaham (now Wilmington) was founded by the Swedish government in 1638. Then followed Alexander Boyer, who was a Dutch deputy commissioner on the Delaware in 1648; and Jean Paul Jacquet, appointed as a deputy director by the Swedes in 1655 and who was an ancestor of the gallant Major Peter Jacquett of Revolutionary fame. Capt. John de Haes, who became collector of customs at New Castle when, by order of the Duke of York, it was made the port of entry for the Delaware, was a Huguenot, as was also Joost de la Grange who became owner of Tinicum Island in 1662. A distinguished ancestor of the Rotan family, Gerrit Rutan, became a citizen of the Valley before 1660.

A band of Huguenots who for a time found a refuge in Rochelle, France, fled to the New World and, having purchased 6000 acres of land on Long Island Sound, founded New Rochelle. Some of their descendants who later attained prominence in the Valley of the Delaware were the Le Contes, the Lamberts, the Barretts, the Motts, and the De Pues. In the spring of 1660 Louis du Bois brought to New Amsterdam a band of French refugees from the Palatinate, to which they had

[1] *Documentary History of New York*, Vol. III, p. 49.

fled during the early religious wars in France. They established homes in the Esopus (Kingston) region on the Hudson and called their settlement "New Paltz" (The New Palatinate). Gradually their settlements were extended down the beautiful Walkill Valley where it opens into the lands of the upper Delaware.

This, no doubt accounts for the De Pues, the L'Hommidieus, and other families with French names found in that region of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, some of them probably before Philadelphia was settled. Corroboration of this is found in the fact that the Dutch government was interested in copper mines at Pahaquarry, on the Jersey side of the Delaware some five or six miles above the Delaware Water Gap, before 1664; and that they had cut a road, later known as "The Old Mine Road," through the Walkill Valley to Esopus, in order to get the products of the mine to the Hudson. These mines were abandoned when the English got possession in 1664; but that the settlement which must have sprung up near them remained is more than probable, for the region had fertile valleys and river flats, and many islands in the Delaware which were highly prized even by the Indians. One of these islands at Shawnee came into the possession of the De Pues.

In 1727 James Logan as agent for the Penns, on information furnished him by Conrad Weiser, sent two surveyors, Nicholas Scull and John Lukens, into the upper Delaware region to secure information concerning it. They were entertained by Nicholas De Pue at Shawnee, but had difficulty in making themselves understood as they did not know the language of the settlers. They concluded the settlement there was an old one, Lukens being particularly impressed with the

size and evident age of the apple trees which appeared to him to be much older than any he had seen around Philadelphia. The house occupied by De Pue they reported to be a substantial stone house, which still stands although a large addition has been made to it. It served as an effective fortress during the early days of the French and Indian War. The L'Hommidieu family had escaped from Rochelle soon after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The father of the family must have died on the voyage to America for the widow with her children is recorded as having settled at Kingston, although later, like the De Pues, they were attracted to the upper Delaware region. Among other early settlers there were the La Roues (Loreaux), the Le Clercks, the Bourniques, and the Francheres.

The region including what is now Kingston, New York, seems to have been especially attractive to the early French immigrants. The records show that Daniel Ferree, a noted Huguenot, whose family suffered so much from having Louis XIV's unprincipled soldiers quartered upon them that they fled to the Palatinate, died there; and that his widow with her six children then joined a group which, under the leadership of the Rev. Joshua Kocherthal, came, in 1709, to New York and joined the settlement at Esopus. Some years later, about 1717, she with her son John and her son-in-law, Isaac Lefever, settled on a large tract in the Pequae Valley that had been surveyed for her.[1] This gave them the companionship of the Swiss Mennonites who settled in the region at the same time, although Watson (II, p. 112) claims that the French were there as early as 1704.

[1] Major-Gen. John F. Reynolds, killed at the battle of Gettysburg, was a lineal descendant of Madame Ferree. His monument stands on City Hall Plaza, Philadelphia.

There were no emigrants that Penn desired more than the Huguenots, and many of them had heard of the advantages of his province in time to come with the first arrivals. As early as September 10, 1683, we find eight persons with French names listed as arriving in Philadelphia;[1] and there were at least three others who arrived at even an earlier date—Jean de La Vall, Edmund du Castle, and Andrew Doze. Others who became citizens of Philadelphia at an early date were the Robinettes and the Nismes. In 1684 Andrew Souplis came to Philadelphia and became a favorite of Penn. His son Andrew changed the name to Suplee. Isaac Roberdau came from the island of St. Christopher at an early date. His son Daniel became one of the leading merchants of Philadelphia and an outstanding patriot during the Revolution. It was Daniel's son Isaac who had charge of the survey fixing the boundary line between Canada and the United States in accordance with the Treaty of Ghent.

One branch of the Garrigues family fled to England where the name was changed to Garrick, David Garrick, the great actor, being a descendant. Another branch came to America about 1700 and retained the French name of Garrigues. Anthony Duché, who came to Philadelphia prior to 1700, was descended from a French family that fled to England from Rochelle. It was his grandson, Jacob Duché, who delivered the eloquent prayer at the opening of the First Continental Congress and who was chosen as chaplain for the Second Continental Congress. Huguenots were also among the early settlers of Germantown. Within three years after its settlement we find Jean Le Brun, Jean Dedier,

[1] Rosengarten's *French Colonists and Exiles*, p. 113.

and Wigard and Gerhart Levering mentioned as heads of families there. Wigard Levering was a man of strong character and great business ability. He was noted as a pioneer in the early woolen industry of the colonies and is also credited with being the founder of Roxborough, Philadelphia. James De la Plaine was also a prominent Huguenot who settled in Germantown in 1691.

Anthony Benezet

There were several other early French settlers in the Valley of the Delaware who deserve special consideration because of their more than local influence. One of these, Anthony Benezet, was born in France in 1713. Soon afterwards persecution drove the family to London where they remained until in 1731 when they removed to Philadelphia. After his marriage Anthony engaged in manufacturing in Wilmington, Delaware; but, finding business uncongenial, he returned to Philadelphia and engaged in teaching, first in Germantown and then in the William Penn Charter School. This work proved so congenial that he opened a school for girls in Philadelphia, a unique feature of the school being the mild discipline he introduced. In the advocacy and practice of this he was a pioneer for his day. He also wrote a textbook for the teaching of reading and spelling, with advanced ideas in regard to teaching the correct use of English. Roberts Vaux, who wrote his biography, regarded him as a pioneer also in the teaching of the deaf and mute; for he had such an afflicted girl in his school who, after two years of the special instruction he advised for her, was able to "enjoy an intercourse with society, which had previously been denied her."[1]

[1] *Memories of the Life of Anthony Benezet* by Roberts Vaux.

About 1750 Benezet became interested in slavery and developed into one of the strongest advocates for its abolition. He finally gave up his other work and opened a school for Negroes whom he himself taught gratuitously, and where he refuted the generally accepted idea "that a sable skin cannot envelope a rational creature." His writings on the subject of slavery attracted so much attention and engrossed so much of his time that he gave up his school and removed to Burlington with the purpose of devoting himself entirely to antislavery work. However, his love of teaching drew him back to Philadelphia the following year. His wealth and kindly disposition made him one of the great philanthropists of his day. When the Acadians, who had been ruthlessly torn from their homes in Nova Scotia, arrived in Philadelphia, he was one of the first to assist them and they soon learned to lean heavily upon him both for sympathy and support. He died in 1784 and had stipulated that if a monument were erected over his remains, it should bear the inscription

Anthony Benezet
was
A poor creature
and
Through Divine Favour
was
Enabled to know it.

Elias Boudinot

Another of these noted Frenchmen was Elias Boudinot. He was born of French Protestant parents in Philadelphia in 1740. He was Chief Justice of New Jersey when the Revolutionary War broke out and, like

nearly all the descendants of the French immigrants, at once espoused the American cause. He was Commissary General in charge of prisoners during the war and was also one of the presidents of the Second Continental Congress. He had charge of the United States Mint for eleven years, and also during his busy life wrote several religious works. In 1816 he had published in Trenton a work in which he essayed to prove that the Indians were the descendants of the "Ten lost tribes of Israel."[1] His bequest of a large tract of woodland along the Susquehanna, to be held in trust to supply needy housewives with fuel, was one of the worthy philanthropies for which Philadelphia is noted. After retiring from public life he removed to Burlington, New Jersey, where he died in 1821. At the time of his death he was president of the American Bible Society. Fosdick pays this tribute to Elias Boudinot:

> "As lawyer, statesman, patriot, scholar, and philanthropist, he was one of the most remarkable men of the Revolutionary period."[2]

Although the French government did not venture upon acknowledging the independence of the colonies and rendering them other material assistance until their ability to resist was demonstrated and European conditions afforded a fair prospect of humiliating their old-time enemy, there were individual champions of liberty in France who were not controlled by such motives and who were attracted to America at the very beginning of the Revolution. Of these the most noted

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[1] It bore the title, "A Star in the West, or an humble attempt to discover the long-lost Ten Tribes of Israel preparatory to their return to their beloved city, Jerusalem."

[2] Fosdick's *French Blood in America*, p. 302.

was, of course, that great friend of Washington, the Marquis de Lafayette. Others who came to aid and then remained as worthy citizens were Dr. Felix Bruno, foster-brother of Lafayette; Major Peter S. Duponceau; Louis Croussilat; and Simon Vallerchamp —all of whom found homes in Philadelphia; Pierre Jarvin, who located in Reading; and Frederick de Sanno, who located in Bucks County.

Stephen Girard

During that same period came also Philadelphia's great merchant prince and public benefactor, Stephen Girard, one of the most interesting characters contributed by France to America. Doctor Herrick says of him:

> "Stephen Girard's service began with the independence of America and extended well through the first third of the nineteenth century. . . . Girard was a great merchant, a successful banker, a prosperous farmer, a lover and servant of country; but greater than all these was Stephen Girard, the founder, a father to the fatherless and a friend to the widow."[1]

Girard was born in Bordeaux, France, and, after an unhappy childhood, ran away to sea at the age of fourteen. He was fond of reading, became a careful observer of the commercial interests of the ports he visited, and through his industry and ability soon rose to command the ships on which he sailed.

In 1777 Girard located in Philadelphia as a merchant and banker and began to bend his energies toward the accumulation of wealth. In the course of time he was

[1] *Stephen Girard, the Founder*, by Dr. Cheeseman A. Herrick.

the owner of vessels that carried on a profitable trade with almost every important country. But he had lost an eye in his early childhood and soon after settling in Philadelphia had married a wife who some eight years later became insane, and these conditions had driven him within himself and made him appear harsh and cynical. The characteristic thrift and habit of accumulation of his race also made him appear to be a miser; although he is known to have done many things, in his own eccentric way, which indicated a deeper human interest and kinder heart than he generally was credited with. At least, he seems quite early in his career to have formed the fixed purpose of founding an institution that would give humble and homeless boys an easier road and a better chance than he himself had experienced; for at his death he left his entire estate, valued at $7,500,000,[1] for philanthropic purposes; the bulk of this was devoted to the founding of the institution which his trustees named after him "Girard College." The institution takes orphans between the ages of six and ten and educates and cares for them until they are eighteen. It now has an enrollment of approximately 1700. This was the first large benefaction of the kind in the United States and has served both as a monument to Girard and as an inspiration to other philanthropists.

During the yellow fever epidemic in 1793 Girard was instrumental in having the vacant Hamilton mansion at Bush Hill fitted up as a hospital; and he and Peter Helms volunteered to take charge of it when others fled the city. Dr. Jean Deveze, a refugee physician from

[1] He was the richest American of his day.—Cf. Scharf and Wescott's *History of Philadelphia*, Vol. I, p. 629.

San Domingo, was their medical helper. Doctor Herrick says:

> "Girard chose the difficult and dangerous part of the service, having charge of the interior of the hospital, the nursing of the sick, and the providing for their physical necessities."[1]

As the wealthiest man of his day, Girard was often called upon for public financial assistance and for his advice in public affairs. He did a great deal during his lifetime, as well as by his will, for the improvement and welfare of his adopted city; and when, in 1813, the Federal Government endeavored to float a loan of $16,000,000 for carrying on its second war with England and less than $6,000,000 was subscribed, John Jacob Astor of New York was induced to subscribe $2,000,000 and Girard and his business associate, David Parrish, subscribed the remainder. One of the sensations of the summer of 1811 was an attempt to kidnap Girard. Two men had planned to entice him to a certain store upon a pretext to sell him goods. There they intended to seize him and extort checks for large sums. But Girard became aware of the plot and had the men arrested, although later they were released.[2]

Girard had a large farm in what is now South Philadelphia. He gave this farm his personal attention and it was his custom to go to it every afternoon that he was not otherwise engaged. Occasionally he visited it at unexpected times and soon convinced his employees there of his knowledge of the details of farming and of the unwisdom of neglecting their duty; just as his control of details made him master of his shipping and banking establishments. Of this habit of mind, Parton

[1] Herrick's *Stephen Girard, The Founder*, p. 40.
[2] Scharf and Wescott, I, *History of Philadelphia*, Vol. I, p. 551.

wrote that "he observed everything and forgot nothing."[1] He was a man of simple habits, living in a plain but well-furnished house on Water Street above Market and on the plainest of food, his personal expenses, Fosdick says, being less than that of some of his clerks. A recent writer[2] thus describes Girard:

> "His low, square, sturdy frame was invariably clad in a faded coat of an ancient and foreign pattern. His slouched hat half concealed a cold and melancholy face marked with deep lines of thought and care. His small, bright eye looked hard and cunning, and his firm, determined mouth and square jaw indicated the indomitable will that lay beneath the uncouth exterior."

This description may have drawn heavily upon the *Biography of Girard,* published in 1831 by William Simpson, one of his clerks, or it may have been colored by the statements made by Daniel Webster in his efforts to break the will left by Girard. But, in any case, Stephen Girard stands out as one of the greatest Frenchmen of early America, and thousands of those who have benefited by his great philanthropy will always pay their tributes of honor to him. Although Girard was a great admirer of the writings of Voltaire, the accusation that he was an infidel is unjust, as he was always regarded as a member of the Catholic Church and contributed liberally to several other churches regardless of their creed. The prohibition in his will in regard to the exclusion of ministers and missionaries from the College grounds is explicitly indicated as being because of the all too frequent religious controversies of his day, so productive of bigotry, and because he desired

[1] Parton's *Famous Americans of Recent Times.*
[2] W. H. Kirkbride.

"to keep the tender minds of the orphans, who are to derive advantage from the bequest, free from the uncertainties which clashing doctrines and sectarian controversies are so apt to produce."[1]

He died December 26, 1831, at his home in Water Street and was buried in the yard of the Catholic Church of the Holy Trinity. Upon the completion of the main Girard College building his body was removed to a crypt within it.

The Acadians

Philadelphia was one of the ports to which were sent the exiles from Acadia (Nova Scotia) at the beginning of the French and Indian War. Scarcely had the news of Braddock's defeat and the subsequent Indian outrages reached the city before Pennsylvania's portion of these "neutrals" arrived in the Delaware. This was in November, 1755, and at a particularly unfavorable time for them, as winter was approaching and the feeling against the French, and especially the French Canadians, was running high. These Acadians were called "neutrals" because, after the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, by which Nova Scotia was ceded to England, they were permitted to retain their lands on condition of their making a declaration of allegiance to the English sovereign; but with the promise that they would not be required to take arms against their mother country, France, or against their Indian neighbors. They were a people noted for their industry and frugality; also for their piety and mildness of disposition. But when it was discovered, in 1755, that some of the younger "neutrals" were furnishing information to the French and Indian

[1] Quoted from Girard's will.

forces, the British commander punished the whole people by confiscating their property, driving them at the point of the bayonet aboard ships and scattering them along the coast in the ports from Massachusetts Bay to South Carolina. During these exciting scenes families became separated and some of them never again were reunited.

There were 454 of these poor unfortunates who were reported to the Pennsylvania Assembly as having been sent to Philadelphia "in great want of blankets, sheets, stockings, and other necessities." A statement in the notes of an English edition of Longfellow's "Evangeline" claimed that the Assembly, in order to free itself of the expense of maintaining these exiles, proposed to sell them into service. But this charge was refuted by William B. Reed in a pamphlet in which he showed that, although there was strong public feeling against bringing so many additional foreigners into the colony, there were many in the Assembly, some of French blood, who would not have countenanced such a proposition. Besides these and their friend Anthony Benezet, there were the influential Lefevers and De Normandies, and many others charitably inclined who were doing all they could to assist them. The Acadians themselves appreciated these facts and, in a memorial to the Assembly, they stated:

> "Blessed be God that it was our lot to be sent to Pennsylvania, where our wants have been relieved, and we have in every respect been treated with Christian benevolence and charity."

However, in 1756 the Assembly did arrange for "dispersing the Acadians into the counties of Philadelphia, Bucks, Chester, and Lancaster," in order to give them

"an opportunity of exercising their own labor and industry." But families were not to be broken up and they were to be supported at public expense for twelve months, or until they secured homes. Unfortunately, some of the townships in these four counties were so prejudiced that they refused to receive any of the Acadians. As a result some of them, although willing to work, were reported as having

> "neither bread nor meat to eat for many weeks together and were necessitated . . . to pilfer and steal for the support of life."

The Assembly then passed another bill

> "for binding out and settling such of the Inhabitants of Nova Scotia as are under age, and for maintaining the aged, sick, and maimed at the charge of the Province."

During the succeeding years some of them returned to relatives in France; but many of them remained as pensioners in care of the province until the time of their death.[1] Watson says that, in Philadelphia, these "neutrals"

> "for a long time occupied a row of frame huts on the north side of Pine Street, between Fifth and Sixth, on property owned by Mr. Powel or Mr. Emlen."

An inquiry addressed to Mr. Longfellow some years ago by the Catholic Historical Society as to the basis of the lines in his poem "Evangeline" that indicated that Evangeline was buried in the yard of the Catholic Church at Sixth and Spruce Streets, elicited the reply that the lines were entirely imaginary. He said that in some of his strolls while in Philadelphia he was impressed by the quiet of the place and, noticing that several

[1] Scharf and Wescott's *History of Philadelphia*, Vol. I, pp. 248–267.

"sisters of charity" were buried in the small yard at the side of the church, he had used it as the burial place of the pathetic heroine of his poem. It would be interesting to know just what families of the Delaware Valley have descended from these sufferers from one of the most cruel and unjust acts of the English authorities; but all such records seem to have been buried in oblivion.

The DuPonts

Many of the families that fled from France to escape the terrors of the French Revolution found a place of refuge in Philadelphia, and also in Wilmington where they were befriended by the DuPonts, the Gareschés, and the Lammots. Mrs. Montgomery mentions a number of these in her *Reminiscences of Wilmington.* The DuPonts were themselves French refugees. The Delaware branch of the family is descended from Pierre Samuel DuPont of Nemours, who, with his son Ireneé, had been imprisoned for their interest in the fortunes of Louis XVI. But they escaped and fled to America in 1798. A few years later the father returned to France, and did not come back to America until after the fall of Napoleon. The son, Ireneé, finding that America was importing most of its supply of gunpowder from England and that its own product was poor, went back to France, learned how to manufacture it, and, in 1801, established, on the Brandywine at Wilmington, the powder works which in many respects have become the greatest in the world.

The father, Pierre, was an effective writer on questions of economy and was also deeply interested in education. In 1812 he published a book on education in

From a painting by S. M. Arthurs

Interview between President Jefferson and E. I. DuPont as to the best location for an American powder mill. The President finally agreed to the site on the Brandywine and the Government became one of its best customers.

Courtesy, the DuPont de Nemours Co.

The humble beginning of the DuPont powder mills on the Brandywine, Wilmington, Delaware, in 1802

the United States which, in his preface, he states was written some years before at the suggestion of his friend, Thomas Jefferson. In this work he states:

> "The United States are more advanced in education than most other countries. There are many schools for children, almost everyone learns to read, write, and reckon. Only four per thousand do not.[1] England, Holland, and the Protestant countries of Switzerland come next to the United States."[2]

A descendant, Admiral DuPont, captured Port Royal, South Carolina, one of the strongest fortified places of the Confederacy, and thus completed the blockade of the Atlantic coast that was so essential to the winning of the Civil War.

Rosengarten says of the French immigrants that

> "Philadelphia, as the political and social capital, attracted these [French] exiles, and many of them made it their home. Some of them were men of letters and of science, and were elected members of the American Philosophical Society, which thus had a close connection with the most noted of the French settlers and colonists, while many distinguished French travelers were welcomed at its meetings, elected members, and interested in its work."[3]

One of these travelers, Chastellux, who had served with distinction in the American Revolution, gives in his *Travels in 1780–82,* one of the earliest trustworthy impressions of a foreign writer concerning the character and condition of the Americans at that time.

Then there was also the world-famous naturalist and portrayer of bird life, John James Audubon, who as an eighteen-year-old immigrant from Louisiana first lo-

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[1] A too roseate view, although it speaks well of his confidence in America.
[2] Cf. Rosengarten's *French Colonists and Exiles in the Unites States.*
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

cated in Philadelphia about the year 1803. Later he married a farmer's daughter who was always a source of strength and inspiration to him, and settled for a time in Montgomery County on an estate owned by his father near the mouth of the Perkiomen at what is now the location of the borough of Audubon. Another noted scientist of French descent who came into this region was Dr. Joseph Priestley, the discoverer of oxygen and the father of modern chemistry. The family had fled to England, but in 1794, after suffering abuse for his religious beliefs, he came to Philadelphia and became influential in establishing a strong Unitarian Society. He later settled in Northumberland, Pennsylvania, where he died in 1804.[1]

"Asylum"

One of the most interesting efforts of French exiles to establish a colony in eastern Pennsylvania was that of the Vicomte Louis De Noailles, a brother-in-law of Lafayette, at a place near Wilkes-Barre that they named Asylum. The colony arrived in Philadelphia in 1793 and purchased a tract of 2000 acres on which, the following year, they built a Catholic Church and erected a large house as an asylum for the king and queen in the hope that they would be able to make their escape from France. But the place did not flourish; some of the settlers removed to New Orleans, and some returned to France when quiet was restored. A few however remained, the Piollets and Delpeuchs of Bradford County and the Hon. John Laport being able to trace their lineage back to them. Prince Louis Phillipe visited the

[1] Cf. Stapleton's *Memorials of Huguenots.*

settlement while he was in exile, as did also the Count de la Rochefoucauld and the French diplomat, Talleyrand. A beautifully illuminated missal that had been brought with the settlers from France, and which was used in their log chapel, finally found its way to the Vatican Museum.[1]

Joseph Bonaparte

Joseph Bonaparte, a brother of the French emperor, also made efforts to provide a permanent home for himself and his exiled countrymen in America. In 1814 he purchased a large tract, some 150,000 acres, on the Black River in New York, from the proceeds of the sale of diamonds he had carried with him in his flight. Here he provided homes for a number of refugees; but, in a few years, he gave up the attempt and removed to Bordentown, New Jersey, where he had purchased a large estate. His expenditures on this estate and his lavish way of entertaining made such inroads on his resources that he became financially embarrassed and, in 1832, returned to France, having been honored with a farewell dinner by the President of the United States. Many distinguished guests were entertained by Bonaparte at his home in Bordentown. Among others was Lafayette who, during his visit to the United States in 1824, was frequently entertained there. There is a tradition that a plan for secretly transporting the great Napoleon himself to America was formed after his defeat at Waterloo. The scheme had been formed by one of his ardent sea-captain admirers; but, through unforeseen difficulties, could not be carried out. At least this was the story told Daudet by the captain's son.

[1] Rosengarten's *French Colonists and Exiles in the United States*, p. 146.

The Bayards

Two noted Frenchmen, Peter Bayard and Arnoldus De la Grange, were associated with the Labadist settlement at "Bohemia Manor." Tradition says the Bayards are descended from the great French knight who was dubbed "sans peur et sans reproche,"[1] a descendant of whom, a Huguenot minister, fled to Holland after the St. Bartholomew massacre. Here his daughter Judith married Peter Stuyvesant, of Manhattan fame, and a son married Stuyvesant's sister. From the latter alliance came Peter Bayard the ancestor of the Delaware Bayards. Colonel John B. Bayard and Stephen Bayard, both of whom were officers in the American Revolution; James A. Bayard, who negotiated the Treaty of Ghent in 1814; and Thomas F. Bayard, ambassador to England during Cleveland's administration, were all descendants of Peter Bayard. Colonel John B. Bayard, who was born at Bohemia Manor in 1738, was a great-grandson of Peter Bayard. When he was eighteen he came to Philadelphia and grew to be one of the prominent merchants of the city. He was one of the first to join the "Sons of Liberty" and in the campaign of 1776–77 commanded a Pennsylvania regiment, receiving commendation from Washington for his bravery at the battle of Princeton.

Oley

Oley, in Berks County, became a prominent center for French refugees. Here came Isaac De Turk, as early as 1712, and brought with him a sufficient number of others to enable them to maintain their native tongue

[1] Without fear and without reproach.

for quite a long period. George de Bonneville (or De Benneville), son of a nobleman of the same name who had fled to England, also settled there. The son stood in high favor with Queen Anne, but in 1741 emigrated to Oley where he spent his time in preaching, teaching, and practicing medicine and, in addition, took an interest in the neighboring Indians. A stone house, erected by him in Oley in 1745, is of great interest to the Universalists; for in it he had a large room fitted up as a chapel where he was wont to preach the doctrine of universal redemption to the friends and neighbors who gathered to hear him. This was "the undoubted birthplace of Universalism in America."[1] He married Esther, the daughter of Jean Bartolet, who was another of the French settlers in Oley.

Other French settlers in the Valley of the Delaware were the Bassonets, who came from Normandy in 1720 and settled at Bristol; John Bouvier who, when a lad of fifteen, came with his parents to Philadelphia in 1802 and became a noted lawyer and writer on legal subjects; Hubert Hubertson, who was in the Schuylkill Valley as early as 1709; the Durands, who were descendants of Huguenots that came to America early in the eighteenth century, one of whom, Cyrus Durand, was a noted silversmith, and another, Asher Brown Durand, engraved Trumbull's painting of the "Signing of the Declaration of Independence" and also painted portraits of many of the noted men of his day. Then there were also the De Lanceys of Philadelphia; Richard Seays (Says) of old Drawyers Church in Delaware;[2] the Griscom family, frequently mentioned in

[1] Fosdick's *French Blood in America*, p. 320.
[2] Cf. Rev. George Foot's *History of Drawyer's Congregation.*

early Huguenot records, and from whom "Betsy" Ross claimed descent; John Keim who, in 1698, seated land on the head waters of the Manatawney; and the Boyers (also spelled Bayer and Beyer) who, in 1728, located in the Schuylkill Valley in the vicinity of the present Boyertown; Abram Markos (or Markou) who was a distinguished resident of Philadelphia prior to the Revolution; Richard De Charms, one of the best known of the Swedenborgian preachers, who was born in Philadelphia in 1796; the Leshers, the Lingels, the Griesemeres, the Desmonds, and the Labars who located in the Goshenhoppen region; and Constantine Pinchot of Bretielle, France, who settled with his son Cyrille on a tract of 400 acres near Milford in Pike County in 1816, and was an ancestor of Governor Gifford Pinchot.[1]

The Antilles

Baird, in his *History of Huguenot Emigration to America,* calls attention to a somewhat neglected source of French emigration to America; namely, The Antilles. This is especially true of the Huguenot exiles who finally reached America from the islands of St. Christopher, Guadaloupe, and Martinique. At first Protestants were welcomed to these islands; but after some years their numbers, wealth, and influence began to exceed that of the Catholic settlers and restrictions were placed by the French government upon their freedom of wor-

[1] The records of Christ Church and the emigrant lists, Vol. XVII, Sec. Series of the Pennsylvania Archives give many additional names. Fosdick gives the following list: The Rouettes (prior to 1683); Jean Du Bois (prior to 1694); Elie Naudain (1698); John Gruwell; the Voschells; Doctor des Jardines (prior to 1683); the Cashos, Rochias, Sayes, Chevaliers, Clerqs, Blocqs, de Rings, de Gans, Laurans, Mincqs, Savoys, Bellevils, Cammons, Bassetts, Caziers, Delos, La Pierres, La Farges, La Comptes, Larus, Sees, Settons, Janviers, Du Chesneys, Vigoures, Tunnells, Le Croixs, and Huelings.

ship. And when the great storm of persecution broke upon the Protestants in France its effects were soon felt on these insular possessions. Following the Revocation, these islands were made penal colonies for those banished from France on account of their Protestantism, and a system of peonage was established that was attended with many of the worst features of slavery.

> "They were employed in severe field labors under the burning sun of the tropics; and they were wholly at the mercy of masters often inhuman, and always irresponsible. It was said that one of these masters boasted openly that he had killed three hundred *engages*[1] with his own hand."[2]

Hundreds of Protestants were driven to the ports in France for transportation under the miseries of overcrowded ships and the lack of food and water, a condition of suffering which was aggravated upon landing by the enforced separation of parents and children, husbands and wives, neighbors and friends. Between September, 1686, and the beginning of 1688, over 1000 Huguenots were sent under such conditions to Martinique alone. The records indicate that fully one fourth of such exiles perished during these voyages. Many of the Huguenots, individually and in small groups, managed to escape to near-by islands not under the control of France, and from which they were finally able to reach America, settling in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. Philadelphia, because of its extensive West India commerce, received a number of these refugees either directly or by later removal from other places. One such refugee who escaped to New York, and whose de-

[1] The name applied to persons in such servitude.
[2] Fosdick's *French Blood in America*, p. 218.

scendants later located in Philadelphia, was Jacques Perot. In 1784 Elliston Perot removed from New York to Philadelphia and established a mercantile business with his brother John. Two years later he joined the Society of Friends and in 1787 married Sarah Sansom. Sansom Street in Philadelphia is named in honor of the family.

From the Greater Antilles came a number of refugees who escaped from Haiti during the Negro uprising on that island. In 1793 six hundred refugees from Santo Domingo arrived in Philadelphia. As they had to flee to save their lives, they came in destitute circumstances; but through the efforts of the French Patriotic Society some $11,000 was raised for their relief. This was a large sum for those days and was remarkable because the yellow fever was raging in the city at the time. Five years later, in 1798, there was another Haitian uprising which brought many French families with their Negro servants to Philadelphia. They had sailed from Port au Prince and were soon followed by 227 more who had found passage on a number of smaller vessels.[1] Stephen Girard, who had lost heavily in these uprisings, provided passage on his vessels for a number of these refugee families.

Character of Huguenots

As there was a large percentage of persons of education and refinement among the French immigrants, many of them turned their attention to teaching and the establishment of schools, especially for females. Mrs. Montgomery, in her chatty way, describes several

[1] The registers of St. Mary's and St. Joseph's Catholic Churches of Philadelphia contain the records of births, marriages, and deaths of many of the Haitian refugees.

Courtesy, Charles S. Boyer

Joseph Bonaparte, King of Spain, fled to America after Napoleon's downfall and, under the name of Count DeSurvilliere, finally settled in Bordentown, New Jersey. This was his second mansion, the first having burned down.

of these schools that were located in Wilmington; and quite a number were opened at various times in Philadelphia and other near-by places. Some of the merchants, manufacturers, professional men, travelers, and men of science of the Valley of the Delaware, who had French blood in their veins, have been referred to. Were a list for the entire country to be prepared, it would make a remarkable showing. This would prove to be especially true of the Huguenots because of the relatively small number of them that came to America. Henry Cabot Lodge, in listing the men of distinction who came to America prior to 1789, found that 559 of them were of Huguenot descent. This, notwithstanding the relatively small number of these immigrants, gave them fourth place in comparison with all other nationalities, and emphasizes what John Fiske in his historical writings always claims—

> "In determining the character of a community one hundred selected men and women are more potent than a thousand taken at random."

Stapleton[1] had full warrant for stating:

> "In the industrial arts, learning and religious thought the Huguenots were of the most advanced and enterprising type of civilization, and the impressions they have made on the institutions and character of the lands of their exile were more profound and far reaching in proportion to their numbers than that of any other class of immigrants."

Although the French have always been poor colonizers, the intolerance, greed, and ambition of their rulers contributed greatly to America's progress by driving so much of the cream of her population into permanent exile on its shores.

[1] See Stapleton's Preface to his *Memorials of the Huguenots in America.*

Chapter VIII

INDUSTRY AND TRANSPORTATION

Although the first settlers brought with them a knowledge of the arts and crafts of their homelands this knowledge was not of a high order. The only arts encouraged by feudalism were those of the armorer, the jeweler, and the costumer. The Middle Ages and the centuries immediately following were periods of dense ignorance and superstition. Progress was slow owing to the general apathy of the age. Poor means of communication prevented any rapid spread of information and, owing to the general insecurity, there was little incentive to accumulate the capital necessary to carry on industry. Any departure from the accepted forms and beliefs was also looked upon with suspicion. In England, in the early days of the seventeenth century, works established by Lord Dudley, who had discovered a method of smelting iron ore by means of pit coal, were destroyed by an angry mob because they claimed it would interfere with the number of workmen needed in the industry. The prevalence of such conditions prior to the last quarter of the seventeenth century delayed progress in England for nearly a century.[1] Little machinery was in use and that of the crudest sort. Whatever progress had been made was in hand skill, and that with tools which would be regarded as clumsy and inadequate today. The Netherlands were less hampered

[1] Bishop's *History of American Manufactures*, p. 17.

by such conditions; but even there the guilds at first looked askance at machinery as interfering with hand skill and as a menace to full employment and fair wages.

But the first settlers in America were not hampered by such conditions. Driven by their wilderness surroundings, they were under the necessity of exercising their ingenuity to provide for their own needs and comfort and were naturally impelled toward labor-saving devices. But their first problems were connected with providing food, shelter, and clothing for themselves and their families; and it was not until a stage of comfort was reached that this ingenuity could find opportunity for free expression and sufficient capital could be accumulated for either experimenting with new devices or the erection of plants that used machinery. By that time the industrial renaissance in Europe had built up well-established industries where capital was more plentiful, interests rates lower, and the cost of labor far less than in the colonies. In the meantime the home carried on the necessary industries with or without the assistance of the nearest mills and workshops or with the help of itinerant artisans with their portable equipments. During this period grain was crushed into coarse flour in homemade mortars or ground in hand mills, or it was carried to a gristmill where the miller took out his "toll" for grinding it. The skins of animals were dressed and used for bedding or made up into various articles of clothing, and flax and wool were raised and prepared as home industries for the same purposes. Nails and other metal products needed in the home and on the farm were cast or forged at home or made in the nearest blacksmith shop. Game was plentiful and the streams full of fish, so that about all the early settlers

needed to buy or barter for were salt, iron, firearms, powder, and lead.

The region from the thirty-ninth to the forty-second parallels was especially attractive to early settlers because of the similarity of its climate to that of the best developed countries of Europe. The soil was productive, well wooded, full of streams affording water power, and the hills and mountains gave promise of iron and copper and the other ores so eagerly sought for. And of this favored region the Valley of the Delaware was the center and, up to the time of the Revolution, proved to be the destination of more emigrants from a greater number of European countries than was to be found in any of the other settlements. This at an early day brought into the region workmen skilled in the hand arts and crafts of all of the countries of western Europe. The number and variety of occupations represented by these arrivals in Philadelphia, especially in the year 1717, forms an interesting chapter in American industrial history.

The first industries to develop in the valley were those of the miller, the sawyer, and the shipbuilder. The first gristmill was erected by Governor Printz, probably in 1645, on Cobb's Creek[1] where there was a sufficient fall of water; and its millstones, cut from the native rocks, were directly connected by a shaft to the "tub water wheel." Its capacity of three bushels of wheat per day stands in marked contrast to present milling facilities, especially as the flour was unbolted and probably contained plenty of grit from the crude millstones. But gristmills were a great convenience

[1] Now part of the boundary line between Philadelphia and Delaware County, Pa.

and were fairly easily constructed, and before 1700 every settlement of any size had one or more of them provided it had streams with sufficient fall of water to turn the water wheel. The machinery for the first two mills erected by the English was brought from England; but this involved time and trouble and was expensive, and American millwrights were soon building their own machinery which at first was almost entirely of wood. At first the heavier lumber and planks for all purposes were shaped by means of the ax, the drawing knife, and the plane. The process of sawing lumber with a crosscut saw worked by two men, one of whom stood on the log which was raised to a scaffolding sufficiently high for the purpose, was too slow and laborious to be popular. Hence, sawmills operated by water power were soon introduced and usually associated with the gristmills. Many of the gristmills of the olden time became noted either for the quality of their products or for some characteristic of their millers. The mills on the Brandywine at Wilmington became particularly famous after their patriot miller, Joseph Tatnall, defied British threats and continued to grind flour for the needy American army.

Owing to their preference for water travel, small boats were built by the Swedes almost from the beginning of their settlements on the Delaware in 1638; and Campanius states that in 1642 he found shipbuilding as well as boatbuilding and coopers work carried on on "Coopers Island" in the Christiana near Wilmington. About 1645 Governor Printz started to build a ship at Tinicum Island; but the first regular shipyard on the Delaware was started in 1683 at the foot of Vine Street in Philadelphia. From this small beginning developed a ship-

building industry which made the Delaware for some years the "Clyde of America." Although for a time the amount of New England shipbuilding outranked that of the valley, by the time of the Revolution Philadelphia ranked among the very first anywhere in naval architecture, "her vessels being no less noted for beauty of form and finish than for their swiftness."[1] The reputation of her naval designers, combined with the position of the city as the metropolis of the colonies with numerous ironworks in the vicinity and with facilities for securing the best lumber and naval stores from the South, gave her superior advantages for shipbuilding. Then, too, ingenious persons like Benjamin Franklin were constantly seeking to improve the sailing qualities and safety of vessels. Among other things Franklin suggested the additional safety of waterproof compartments; and Thomas Godfrey of Germantown, as early as 1731, made the reflecting quadrant practical for determining the position of vessels at sea. William Rush, a Philadelphia sculptor in wood, carved figureheads for ships that brought him orders from abroad as they appeared in foreign ports and, with rare expression of motion, seemed to rejoice in having led their Philadelphia-built "clipper ships" across the Atlantic in the unprecedented sailing time of twenty days.

John Fitch

But the introduction of steam as a motive power was destined to lower this record of speed, just as the change from wooden to iron and steel hulls was calculated to increase safety at sea. The credit of being the first to

[1] Bishop's *History of American Manufactures*, p. 72.

apply steam to the propulsion of boast belongs to John Fitch. Although he was born in Connecticut, he located in Trenton, New Jersey, as a jeweler and gunsmith. He was rendering excellent service in preparing guns for the American army when the British entered Trenton in the latter part of 1776 and destroyed his workshop. He then removed to the Pennsylvania side of the river and it was while living there that he conceived the idea of overcoming wind and tide by the use of the tremendous expansive power of steam and, as he claimed, to the great advantage "not only of America but also of the world at large." Having completed a model of his steamboat, he tried it out on a large pond near his home in the summer of 1785 and was encouraged to build a larger model, which he publicly launched on the Delaware at Philadelphia on the twenty-seventh of July, 1786. This met with so much public approval that he was able to form a company that built a steamboat forty-five feet long for commercial purposes.

His first experimental steamboat seems to have had sidewheels; but for some reason he adopted instead long oars placed at the sides and operated by a rather complicated system of endless chains. But like all of our early inventors he had neither machines nor machinists to assist him and the crude work of the blacksmiths he had to rely upon, combined with his own imperfect knowledge of how best to utilize steam, made his first boats unsatisfactory and caused him to build a third which was sixty feet in length and had the long upright paddles at the stern. It was launched in July, 1788, and made voyages up and down the river, traveling in all some 3000 miles and attaining at times a speed of eight miles an hour. But owing to imperfec-

tions in the machinery and lack of commercial success the project was finally abandoned. Although Fitch had secured scientific indorsement of his plans and had secured a patent for them on April 23, 1791, he had so impoverished himself that he became thoroughly disheartened, especially after the public began to regard him as a mere visionary. Like many another inventor he failed to realize on his advanced ideas; but he died affirming:

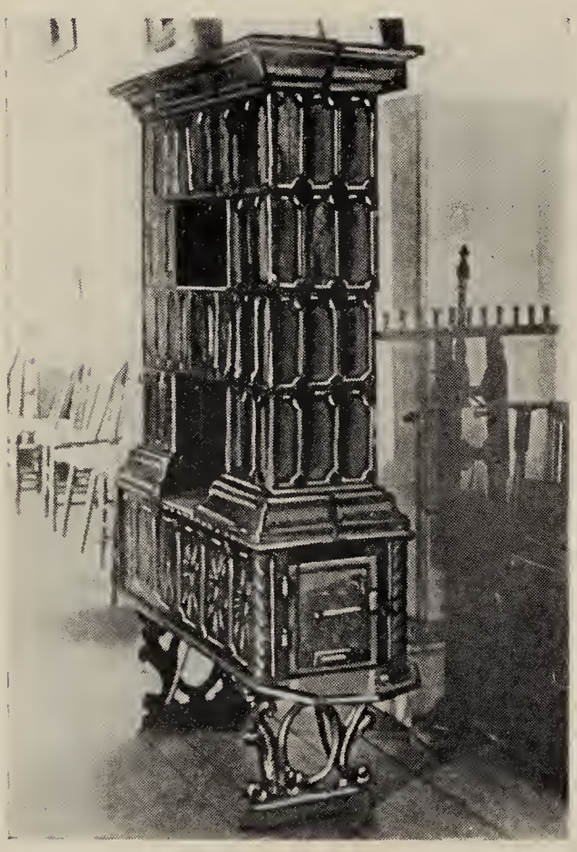
> "The day will come when some more potent man will get fame and riches from my invention, but nobody will believe that poor John Fitch can do anything worthy of attention."

Robert Fulton

Robert Fulton then adopted Fitch's ideas and successfully adapted them to commercial purposes on the Hudson in 1807. Fulton was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, not far from the watershed separating the Susquehanna Valley from the Valley of the Delaware. He had started his public life as an artist in Philadelphia and had then gone to London to improve his skill under the instruction of Benjamin West. But he was also of a mechanical turn of mind and went to France to submit plans he had conceived for carrying on submarine warfare. And it was while he was there that he came into possession of Fitch's plans and ideas.

By 1793 the Philadelphia shipyards were building double the amount of tonnage of any other American port. But the growing commerce of the city gradually forced these shipyards farther north on the river front; and when steam began to supplant sails as a motive power their numbers gradually diminished to a few firms that had sufficient capital to construct the machinery

Stove plate from Pennsylvania foundry. One of the earliest forms of art expression in America.



Part tile, part metal stove. An early product of the Bethlehem-Nazareth region.

"Eight-plate stove" of an early ornamental type. If doors were used where the pillars appear, such stoves were known as "Ten-plate stoves."

involved in building and launching the larger vessels demanded by trade and travel. One of the largest of these firms was that of William Cramp and Sons, located in Kensington, Philadelphia. It was one of the first firms of American shipbuilders to change from wooden to iron hulls for vessels. This was in 1860. During the Civil War the firm built a number of monitors and other ironclads for the Federal government. And before the firm went out of existence it had constructed a number of the largest sized vessels for foreign countries, as well as for use in America. Another shipbuilding firm that before the end of the nineteenth century had attained an international reputation was that of John Roach of Chester.

Large shipbuilding plants have within recent years developed in Camden, Chester, and Wilmington; and the navy yard at League Island has one of the best equipped yards for the construction and repair of naval vessels in the country. With the rise of these large firms smaller shipyards found in almost every port of the Delaware went out of existence. While vessels were small and easily launched they prospered; but with the increases in size and the introduction of steam they were doomed.

Oliver Evans

In addition to having the first steamboat the Valley of the Delaware took the lead in demonstrating the possibility of using steam in land travel and in applying it as a power for driving machinery. As early as 1772 Oliver Evans conceived the idea of propelling vehicles by mechanical power and, having learned of the great expansive power of steam, he was ready in 1786 to

apply to the Legislature of Pennsylvania for the exclusive right to the benefits accruing from the use of "steam wagons" in that state. He at the same time applied for the rights connected with machinery he had invented for grinding flour. The latter was granted; but the former was refused as the dreams of a man more or less insane. Even such noted engineers as B. F. Latrobe pronounced his claims to be able to drive anything—wagons, vessels, mills—by steam as chimerical and anyone believing in it as having "steam mania." However, Maryland granted him exclusive rights for his steam wagons the following year.

He then started work on the machinery needed to manufacture his steam wagons; but finding this likely to impoverish his family he turned his attention to building stationary engines for driving machinery, and in 1803 established in Philadelphia the first works for the purpose in the United States. At these works in 1818 he developed the first high-pressure steam engines. It is interesting to know that in 1804 he completed a dredging machine for the Board of Health and, having mounted the scow on which it was built on wheels, he was able to propel it from his works to the Schyulkill by its own steam power. Having launched it, a paddle wheel that he had built at the stern successfully propelled it the sixteen miles from there to the docks on the Delaware, which he had been employed to dredge. His machine bore the ponderous name of "Orukter Amphiboles or Amphibious Digger," but fully demonstrated his broad claims to ability to use steam as a general motive power.[1] However, even he with all his practical

[1] Cf. Oliver Evans' affirmed statement made at Ellicott Mills near Baltimore, November 12, 1812.

experience did not realize the possibilities of steam; for in an address in 1813, he questioned the ability of a steam wagon (locomotive) to draw a number of loaded "wagons" at the same time, and regarded it as impossible for it to surmount a grade of more than two or three degrees. He therefore suggested that the only feasible way to surmount an incline was to have the wagons drawn up by rope and pulley.

In fact, the public then knew so little about railroads that a correspondent, who had read about the Pennsylvania Legislature having in 1823 incorporated a company to build a "railroad" from Philadelphia to Columbia on the Susquehanna River, asked the editor of the *Philadelphia Gazette*[1]: "What is a railroad? What does this plan mean?" Although the railroad to Columbia was not completed until late in 1834, its 1823 charter in reality marked the inception of the great Pennsylvania Railroad system which now furnishes transportation facilities to so much of our country. Before this Columbia railroad was completed several others were in operation. The New Castle and Frenchtown railroad, which for a number of years formed part of the traveled route between Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, was officially opened July 5, 1831; the Philadelphia, Germantown, and Norristown railroad June 6, 1832; the railroad connecting West Chester with the route to Columbia, September 13, 1832; and the Camden and Amboy railroad as far as Bordentown early in 1833. From Bordentown passengers were brought by steamboat to Philadelphia, just as steamers formed the connecting link between New Castle and Philadelphia, as well as between Frenchtown and Bal-

[1] Cf. the April issue of the *Philadelphia Gazette* for 1824.

timore. Horse-drawn coaches were used at first on all of these earlier railroads, the first steam-drawn train used being early in 1831 on the eleven miles of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad connecting Ellicott Mills with Baltimore.

A locomotive, the "Stourbridge Lion," had been brought from England in 1829 to use on the canal connecting the Delaware with the Hudson; but it proved too heavy for the tracks and was not used. However, the success of the steam roads in England began to attract the attention of American mechanics and Philadelphia was early in the field for the invention and improvement of steam locomotion. The successes of Oliver Evans have already been noted. Israel Jennings, in 1821, secured a patent for a locomotive involving the principles employed by Stephenson, and on which he claimed he had begun to experiment as early as 1809.[1] Col. Stephen H. Long and a Mr. Child completed locomotives involving their own ideas in 1831. Francis Schields of Cincinnati had exhibited in 1830 a miniature locomotive that would run nine miles an hour.

Matthias W. Baldwin

But the first great American success in building locomotives for practical service was attained by Matthias W. Baldwin, founder of the internationally known "Baldwin Locomotive Works." He was by trade a jeweler but had become interested in building stationary engines in Philadelphia, and on April 25, 1831, exhibited at Peale's Museum a miniature locomotive that he had constructed. It attracted a great deal of attention as

[1] Scharf & Westcott's *History of Philadelphia*, III—2254 note.

it readily drew two small cars with four persons in them around a circular track prepared for it. The success of this small engine led the directors of the Philadelphia, Germantown, and Norristown Railway to give him an order for a locomotive for their road. This locomotive made its first trip November 23, 1832; but, although it could attain a speed of thirty miles an hour and readily draw its coaches in ordinary weather, it proved too light for wet weather and necessitated the announcement that in bad weather the train would be drawn by horses. With a heavy load the steep incline at the lower edge of Germantown also often proved too much for it and necessitated the passengers walking up the hill even in fair weather.

First Railway in America

Although Americans knew little about locomotives before 1830, the people of the lower part of the Valley of the Delaware knew of the advantages of railways for the easy hauling of heavy loads as early as 1809. In September of that year Thomas Leiper, a wealthy Philadelphia tobacconist who owned stone quarries near Chester, tried out an experimental railway that he had built in the large yard of the Bull's Head Tavern in Philadelphia. The rails had an ascent of one and one-half inches to the yard and yet a horse readily drew a car with a five-ton load up this incline much to the amazement of most of the onlookers who had bet on the issue. A railway was at once constructed connecting Mr. Leiper's quarries, which were on Crum Creek, near Chester, with the landing place for his stone boats on Ridley Creek, a distance of three fourths of a mile. This road was in use until in 1828 and was the first

railway built in America. The cars used were small open freight cars drawn by oxen. Leiper was one of America's first and most noted tobacconists and had large snuff and tobacco mills at Lapidea, near his stone quarries. He was an ardent patriot and a firm friend of Thomas Jefferson who it is said was selected at his home as the "Republican" (now Democratic) Candidate to succeed John Adams as President.[1]

Thomas Leiper was also a strong advocate of canals—a type of improvement in transportation in which the Valley of the Delaware also took a leading part. He was prominent in forming several organizations that had for their object improvements in transportation in Pennsylvania. As early as 1790 he endeavored to secure the right to build a canal from his quarries to tidewater on Crum Creek; but met with so much opposition that he finally built his railway instead.[2] One of his favorite projects was to build a canal connecting the Delaware with Lake Erie. Both the Delaware and the Hudson, by penetrating so far inland, presented tempting opportunities for such plans; but after the Pennsylvania surveys were made the cost of carrying a canal across the Alleghenies was pronounced prohibitive. It was then that Governor Clinton of New York, seeing the advantage of a canal by the way of the Mohawk and the low pass cut by it through the mountains—only one fourth the height of the lowest in the Pennsylvania plan—brought forward his project for building the Erie Canal which was completed in 1825. This canal at once reduced the cost of transporting one hundred pounds of freight from thirty-two dollars to one dollar,

[1] Scharf & Westcott's *History of Philadelphia.*

[2] This canal project was again taken up and completed by his son George Leiper and opened with great public ceremony in 1825.

and gave the growing city of New York great advantages for the trade of the Ohio Valley, of which Philadelphia up to that time had the monopoly. Although through the completion in 1834 of a canal system from the Delaware to Pittsburgh (with a method of carrying the canal boats over the mountains by means of a portage railway) Philadelphia was enabled to regain some of its western trade, it was not long thereafter before New York began to show its commercial supremacy.

Two of the earliest canals projected in the valley were the Delaware and Chesapeake Canal, connecting the lower Delaware with Chesapeake Bay, and the Union Canal, which extended from Reading on the Schuylkill to Middletown on the Susquehanna. The first was chartered in 1803 and the latter in 1811. The first important tunnel in the United States formed part of the Union Canal system. The discovery of the possibilities of anthracite coal led to the building of several important canals linking up the coal regions with Philadelphia and with the Delaware at Easton. The Delaware and Raritan Canal, forming part of a waterway between the Delaware and New York, was authorized in 1825. For a time railways and even railroads were adjuncts of these canal systems, although they finally reduced these and other established canal systems almost to complete disuse. But great canal systems are again demonstrating their usefulness and the recent deepening of the Delaware and Chesapeake Canal to accommodate large vessels has renewed the interest in an inland waterway extending from Boston to the Gulf of Mexico. Such a waterway across New Jersey to the lower reaches of the Delaware would be an important link in this

great system and, if deep enough to accommodate the largest vessels, would be of great commercial value and also would prove of vital importance to our navy in case of foreign attack.

The iron ore of the Valley of the Delaware was one of the first of its resources to be developed industrially. The manufacture of iron was begun in Virginia almost with its settlement; but the works were destroyed during the Indian uprising of 1622 and no effort to re-establish the industry there was made for more than a century.[1] Iron works were opened in New England as early as 1643; but the supply of the bog ore used was soon exhausted and it was not until hemitite ore was discovered in the hills of western Connecticut that the industry was resumed.[2] New York was from the first an agricultural and commercial colony and there was no smelting of iron ore in it until in the middle of the eighteenth century. But eastern Pennsylvania and the adjoining regions of New Jersey almost from the beginning of their settlements began to excel in iron and steel products. This condition prevailed until 1890 when the development of the bituminous coal fields near Pittsburgh and the discovery of the rich ore fields in the Lake Superior region built up a strong rivalry in the Ohio Valley and, later on, on the shores of the Great Lakes themselves.

The upper Schuylkill enjoyed especial advantages for establishing furnaces for the production of iron and steel, owing to the abundance of iron ore, its nearness to the coal fields, and its ample supply of limestone for the "flux" and of timber for the charcoal which was used

[1] Governor Spottswood, "the Tubal Cain of Virginia," established iron works on the Rappahannock in 1760.

[2] Coman's *Industrial History of the United States.*

Courtesy, David I. Moore

Old wagon with solid wooden wheels and axles. From the home of Samuel Wood, Haddonfield, New Jersey.

Dimmick's Ferry near Shawnee on the upper Delaware. The thrill of old-time travel may still be enjoyed in places where modern methods would not be profitable.

in the smelting. Labor was plentiful, food from the surrounding farms cheap, and the great shipping port of Philadelphia not far off. The following toast, given at one of the gatherings of iron and steel producers of the Schuylkill region in 1839, well expresses the sturdy character of the men who worked at the furnaces as well as the rugged nature of their surroundings: "Old Pennsylvania! Her sons, like her soil, rough outside, but solid stuff within: plenty of coal to warm her friends, plenty of iron to cool her enemies!"

Thomas Rutter, a blacksmith, was the first to establish iron works in the Valley of the Delaware. This was in the summer of 1717; and his works seem to have been on French Creek near what is now Pottstown, where "of his own strength" he "set upon making iron" of a quality that "the best of Swedes' iron doth not exceed it."[1] A few years later Samuel Nutt built a forge in the same vicinity. But the most noted of these early furnaces was the Durham Furnace near Riegelsville, Pennsylvania, which continued in existence until after the Civil War. The keystone of the building, bearing the date of its erection, "1727," was exhibited at the Centennial Exhibition.[2] During the Revolution Durham Furnace supplied a number of cannons and quantities of cannon balls to the American army. It was then under the able management of George Taylor, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, although Joseph Galloway, a Philadelphia Tory who fled to England and did so much to misrepresent the American cause, was then a part owner.

The forge that gave its name to Valley Forge, Wash-

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[1] Letter of Jonathan Dickinson, written 1717, in the *Logan Papers*.
[2] Scharf & Westcott's *History of Philadelphia*, III, 2249 note.

ington's famous camping ground, was built by Isaac Potts prior to the Revolution. These forges were either connected with or were near the early furnaces and, by means of tilt hammers operated by water power, worked the "blooms" cast in the furnace into usable iron; rolling and slitting mills then shaped the iron into desirable forms and sizes. Steel was produced from the iron at first by the German process of filling the space between bars of iron, placed about an inch apart, with horn, ashes, etc. The whole mass was then heated with the assistance of a blower to a high temperature which blistered the iron and changed it into "blistered steel." This blistered steel was regarded as the best for edged tools. Until the Revolutionary troubles began most of the edged tools were made in the blacksmith shops, although some were imported from England.

The Revolutionary period was not favorable to the establishment of new types of industry, although Whitehead Humphreys had steel works in Philadelphia where he made "good tools"[1] for which as early as 1771 he received a £100 encouragement from the Assembly of Pennsylvania. Edged tools were made in Massachusetts soon after the Revolution and an ax factory was established on the Perkiomen, Philadelphia County, about 1800. In 1813 Daniel Pettibone was manufacturing edge tools in Philadelphia; but the English supply was of excellent quality and readily transported, and the industry seems to have grown but slowly in America. The tools for boring the excellent rifles made by members of the Henry family at Lancaster and Nazareth were probably homemade. Even as late

[1] Scharf & Westcott's *History of Philadelphia*, III—263.

as 1831 Matthias Baldwin had to bore the cylinders for his first locomotive with homemade chisels set in a wood block.

Daniel Morgan's famous regiment of riflemen, which was so fully respected by the British troops, was armed with these accurate, long-distance-carrying Pennsylvania rifles. Although his troops were for the most part recruited in Virginia, Morgan himself was born in Hunterdon County, New Jersey, and grew up in the vicinity of the Durham Furnace where his father was employed. Daniel Boone also carried a long Pennsylvania rifle into the wilds of Kentucky, although the Tryons in Philadelphia made most of the rifles used in the early days of the Ohio Valley. The official records show that the Valley of the Delaware and the near-by regions of the Susquehanna furnished more rifles, cannons, cannon balls, and powder for Washington's army than any other region of the colonies.[1] John Fitch, the inventor of the steamboat, is said to have had a factory near Trenton for making files soon after the Revolution. The first American success in making saws was by Henry Disston, founder of the Keystone Saw Works in Philadelphia, which now manufactures both saws and files. He began in a small room at Second and Arch Streets about 1840, and like Benjamin Franklin was at first his own porter; however, his genius, skill, and integrity soon enabled him to establish an industry that grew into world-wide importance.

The furnaces of the valley early began to cast the stove plates which at first were used only to line fireplaces. These stove plates were interesting because their relief decorations furnished one of the earliest

[1] Coman's *Industrial History of the United States.*

American outlets for art expression which, characteristic of the period, usually aimed to carry information or moral instruction with it. Some of the most interesting of these stove plates were made at the Durham Furnace, at Rutter's Furnace near Pottstown, and at the Elizabeth Furnace established by Baron Stiegel in Lancaster County. But the picturesque old fireplaces were so wasteful of heat that efforts to improve on methods of heating soon began to appear. One of the earliest of these was the Pennsylvania fireplace invented by Benjamin Franklin. It was in effect a chimney stove and appeared about the same time that Saur in Germantown was making cast-iron "jamb stoves," a modification in iron of the German tile stoves built into the wall separating two rooms but with a projecting part in each of them.

The next development was wood-burning stoves set out in the room with a stovepipe connection with the chimney. These passed through the progressive stages of seven plates to ten plates; and the "ten-plate stove" held its own for many years. A discovery that had an important bearing on manufacturing, as well as on heating houses, was made about the year 1800. It was in effect that by using a grate with ample draft underneath, "stone coal," as it was then called, would burn almost as readily as charcoal or wood. This turned attention to the use of coal as a fuel for producing steam as well as heat, and forcibly illustrates how simple have been many of the basic inventions in our industrial progress. With these developments Philadelphia became the center of a great stove-making industry. By 1810 the valley was producing nearly half the cast iron used in the United States

for stoves, household utensils, and general industrial purposes.[1]

Much of the time of early blacksmiths was employed in making nails and tacks. This was also a winter evening employment in homes having the necessary equipment. The thin iron bars for the purpose were obtained from the nearest "slitting mill." In New England this fireside industry reached such proportions that nails were made for export to other colonies until the invention of nail-making machinery made the occupation unprofitable. Samuel Briggs of Philadelphia developed plans for making nails, screws, and gimlets by machinery, for which in 1789 he asked the consideration of Congress and the Pennsylvania Legislature. In 1797 he and his son received the first letters patent granted by the United States for nail-making machinery. Several factories for making nails soon followed in Philadelphia; but the largest plant in the country developed in Pottstown, Pennsylvania.

John A. Roebling

Works for drawing wire were opened in Philadelphia as early as 1779; but the iron made in America at that time proved to be not ductile enough for satisfactory work and the supply continued to be brought from Europe. However, in 1831 John A. Roebling came from Saxony and established a small plant in Trenton, New Jersey, in which he made excellent wire from American iron. In this plant he also began to make wire rope, the first in the country. Wire cable then soon began to supplant ordinary rope because of its greater strength and

[1] Coman's *Industrial History of the United States.*

durability and because it also made possible cables of large diameter for use in suspension bridges. In these various lines of work the Roeblings have established a reputation which has spread to all parts of the world. Mr. Roebling was the designer and contractor for the Brooklyn Bridge and died as the result of an accident which occurred in 1869 while he was locating one of the piers of this famous suspension bridge.

England's Attitude

England welcomed pig iron from the colonial furnaces, as her own supply of iron ore was insufficient to meet her needs; but when the colonists began to make iron and steel and their various products for themselves, the British manufacturers, seeing an important part of their market endangered, were able in 1749 to secure an Act of Parliament which required the colonial governors to furnish information in regard to all existing plants and to prevent the erection "of any mill or other engine for slitting or rolling iron, or any plating forge to work with a tilt hammer, or any furnace for making steel" after the twenty-fourth of June, 1750. Some of the plants reported as in existence at that time were the Vincent Steel Works on French Creek, opened 1734 and said to be the first in the province to make steel; Thomas Paschal's and William Branson's steel furnaces in Philadelphia, both built about 1747; a plating forge with tilt hammer in Byberry owned by John Hall; and a plant in Trenton in which Benjamin Yard was reported as making both iron and steel.

This Act prevented further developments in these industries during the next twenty years; but during the Revolutionary troubles American iron and steel plants

were called upon for materials for defense, and after the Revolution they were among the first to multiply, becoming especially prosperous during the War of 1812. With other industries they suffered at the close of that war from the accumulated products dumped on the American market by European manufacturers at prices with which the Americans could not compete. Since that period, with the aid of tariff protection, Pennsylvania, largely through its allied iron and steel industries, has become the leading manufacturing state of the Union.

Until near the end of the eighteenth century there was little inducement to raise cotton owing to the difficulty of separating the fiber from the seeds. It took a slave practically a month to prepare a bale of cotton. The invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney in 1793 changed all this and gave the South a new industry to be added to its tobacco and rice culture. It also furnished a new occupation for the waterfalls of the short, swift New England rivers. But the inception of the spinning and weaving of cotton for sale occurred in the Valley of the Delaware. The first spinning jenny seen in the country was exhibited in Philadelphia in 1775.[1] It was described as a "New invented machine for spinning cotton or wool," and probably had been brought in surreptitiously, as England had prohibited the export of any machinery to America. Soon after the Revolution American inventors began to produce machines that would spin yarns as well as the old-time spinning wheel and much more rapidly because of the number of bobbins that could be filled at the same time.

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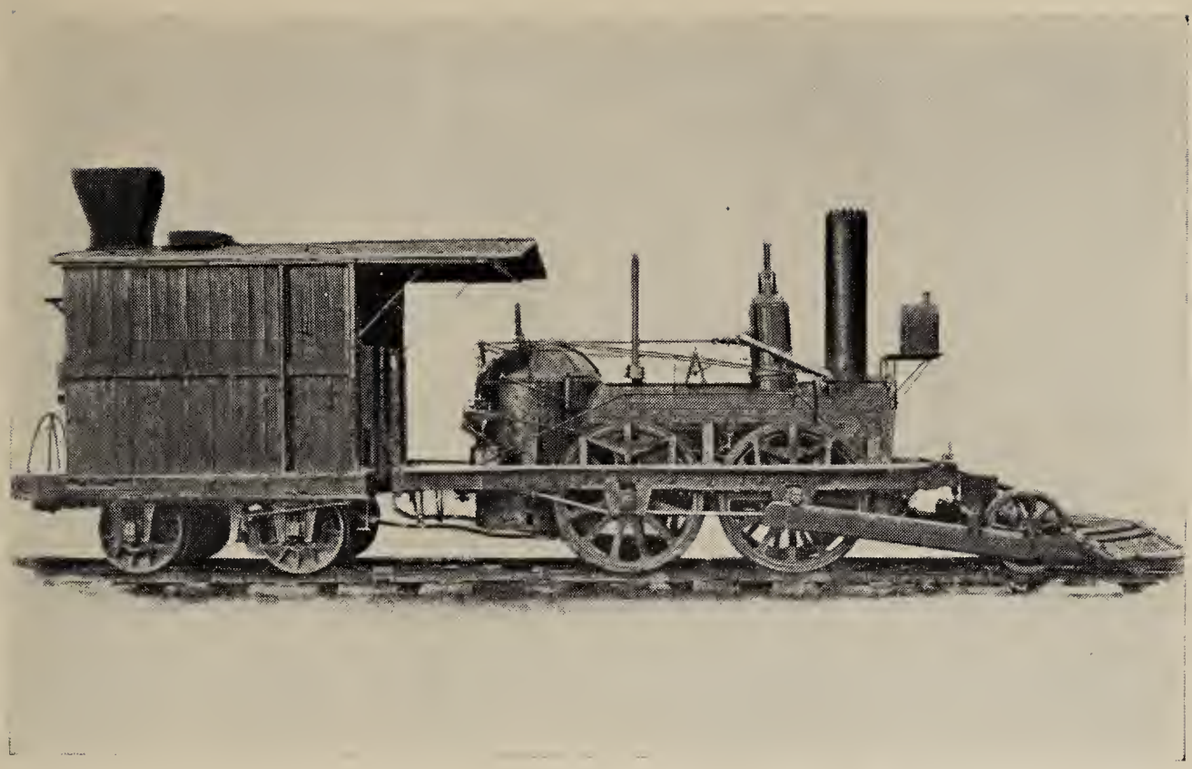
[1] Described in *Pennsylvania Magazine and American Monthly Museum*, p. 186.

But these spinning jennies were operated by hand power, and in 1787 the "Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures and the Useful Arts" offered premiums for "the most useful machine or engine to be moved by water, fire, or otherwise for manufacturing cotton, wool, flax, or hemp yarn" and better than by any machine "then in use in the state." However, we know cotton machinery was already in use in Philadelphia; for in the report of the Society for that year it was stated that "200 to 300 poor women had found employment" in a rented building at the southwest corner of Ninth and Market Streets and that "a carding machine and four spinning jennies had been set up." John Hague was probably the inventor of this carding machine, as the Assembly granted him £100 "for introducing into this State useful machines for carding cotton."[1] The following advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette,* April 3, 1782, indicates that Samuel Wetherill, founder of the Society of Free Quakers, was the first to manufacture woven goods in quantity for sale in America:

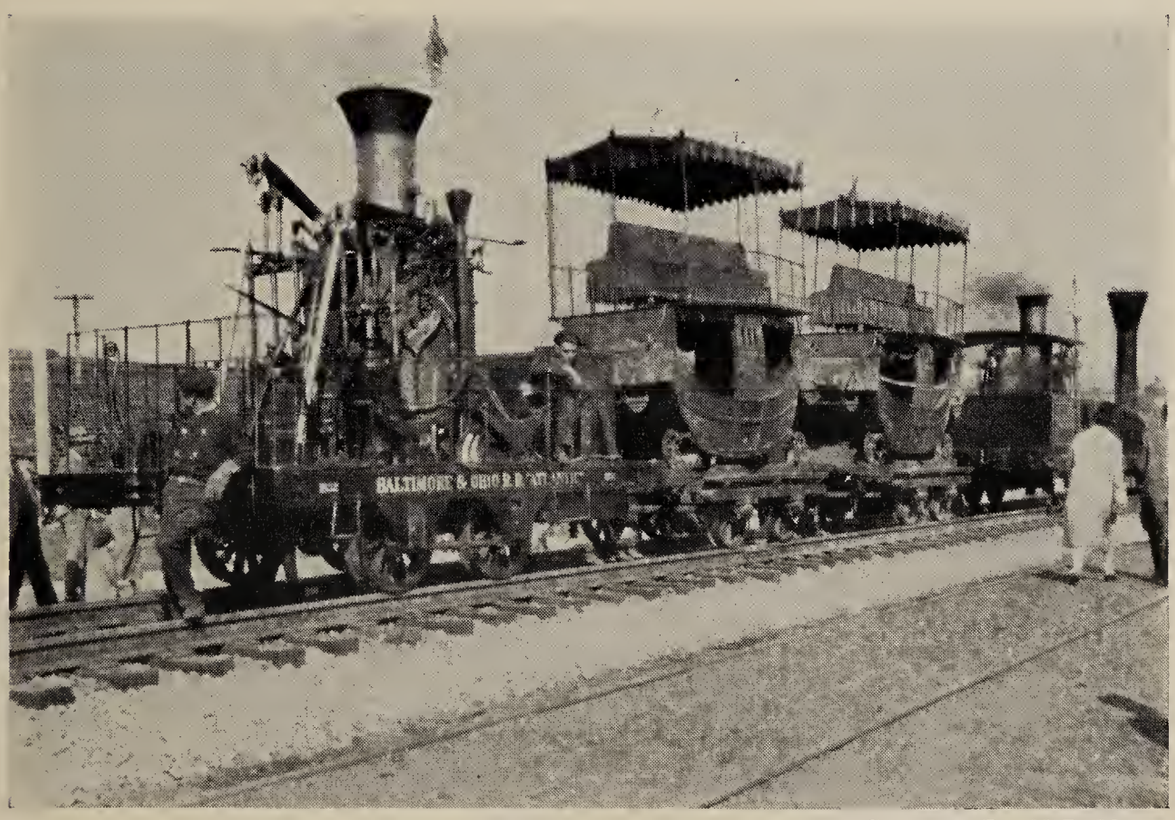
> "Philadelphia Manufactures—suitable for every season of the year, viz: Jeans, Fustians, Everlastings, Coatings, &c, to be sold by the subscriber at his dwelling house and manufactory, (which is now standing), in South Alley, between Market street and Arch street, and between Fifth and Sixth streets, in Hudson's square."

When news of the success of Arkwrights machines for spinning yarns reached America, Tench Coxe, a public-spirited Philadelphian who was not only "an ardent and able promoter of domestic manufactures

[1] Scharf & Westcott's *History of Philadelphia,* III—2228.



Wood-burning locomotive, "John Bull." Built in England, 1831, for the Camden and Amboy Railroad. The extensive "cow-catcher" provided for cows on the track in the days when fences were scarce.



Courtesy, David I. Moore

One of the first trains on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The locomotive was built in England, but the coaches were built in Philadelphia by Richard Imlay. As early as 1830 he placed one of his "Improved Passenger Cars" on view in Baltimore.

but also interested in furnishing employment to the industrious poor," endeavored to secure models of his machines. But he failed in this. However, Samuel Slater, a skilful mechanic who had worked in the mill where the Arkwright machines were used, learning of the inducements offered in Pennsylvania, concluded America offered better opportunities for the manufacture of cotton than England and landed in New York the latter part of 1789. Early the next year he entered into a contract with Moses Brown of Providence to erect a mill near by, at the falls of the Pawtucket, that would perform by machinery all of the operations necessary for preparing cotton yarn for weaving. As he could bring no machinery with him from England, he had to draw from memory all of the plans and then supervise the work of the mechanics employed to make the parts, and finally to instruct his employees in the use of the machinery[1]—a common experience of early inventors.

Although the Pawtucket plant, which was in full operation in 1793, was a great success and Slater's influence in the industry was so great that he has been called "the father of cotton manufacturing in America," developments were slow and only four mills were in operation in the entire country as late as 1804.[2] But, during the War of 1812 and the years immediately preceding it, so few foreign goods were imported that American industry practically enjoyed a monopoly and mills multiplied and prospered. Rhode Island became the center of cotton manufacturing and before the end of 1815 had 130 such factories within thirty miles of Prov-

[1] White's *Memoirs of S. Slater.*
[2] Coman's *Industrial History of the United States,* p. 184.

idence. However, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and eastern Pennsylvania shared in the prosperity, which continued until the close of the war when the goods that had accumulated abroad were dumped on our market at ruinous prices and a period of great depression followed. It was during this period that our first protective tariff measures were adopted.

The woolen mills of the early period produced only the yarn, the weaving being done on hand looms in the homes or shops of the weavers.[1] A weavers' strike in Kensington, Philadelphia, shows that the practice of such home-shop weaving was still quite general as late as 1843. The spinning of woolen yarns, as well as the weaving of the coarser woolen fabrics, continued as a home industry until even a much later date. Farmers raised their own sheep, clipped the wool in the spring of the year, and had it prepared for home spinning in a convenient fulling mill. After it was spun and woven into cloth in the home or by the village weaver it was taken to the fulling mill for shrinking and finishing. Matthew Houlgate is said to have erected the first fulling mill in Pennsylvania on ground he had purchased on the Wissahickon, Philadelphia, in 1698. At that time there were already in the province dyers, fullers, comb makers, card makers, weavers, and spinners of wool ready to assist in these home industries, although the females of the household were well prepared to do the spinning.

Until after the Revolution the printing of designs on cotton and linens was done with wood blocks and by

[1] It was not until 1815 that Francis C. Lovell designed and constructed a power loom for weaving; and it was much later before it came into general use for woolen fabrics owing to the custom of weaving them in the home.

hand. John Hewson of Philadelphia was recognized by the legislature in 1789 for his skill in this type of work; and Mrs. Washington is said to have been proud to wear fabrics printed in his establishment. This tedious process of block printing was carried on until an English method of printing from engraved designs repeated on copper rollers was introduced. Germantown, which became famous for making fine woolen yarns and woolen fabrics, became noted soon after its settlement in 1683 for the fine linen goods it produced. Every farmer had his patch of flax which, after being "rotted," "broken," "swingled," "combed," "carded," and "spun," was woven into linen for household use and for clothing. The "tow," or coarser remains, after being combed on the "hetchel" was spun into a yarn which when woven was made into summer wear for the men. Because of the prickly spines which could not be removed entirely from the goods, it served as an excellent substitute for the old-time hair shirts worn in mortification for sin.

The building of appliances for producing textile fabrics dates back to 1777 when Oliver Evans invented a machine for making card teeth for carding purposes. But the development of the manufacturing of machinery for producing fabrics was tardy, owing no doubt to the extent to which weaving activities were carried on in the home. In 1804 a Mr. Eltonhead was building cotton machinery in Philadelphia; and 1810 Alfred Jenks, who had learned about such machinery from Samuel Slater, established the first regular plant for cotton goods machinery in Holmesburg, Philadelphia. In 1819 he was also making machinery for manufacturing woolen goods.

First Paper Mill in America

The first paper made in the colonies was produced by Wilhelm Rittinghuysen (Rittenhouse) in a mill he erected on a small branch of the Wissahickon in Germantown, Philadelphia. This must have been before the year 1692, for Richard Frame said of him at that time that he

> "From linnen Rags good paper doth derive."[1]

The rags for the paper were at first carried on horseback from the settled part of Germantown to this mill in the woods, and the finished paper was returned in the same way. The paper was made in sheets and by hand processes, with the exception of the grinding of the rags and mixing them into a pulp. It has been said facetiously that even in the year 1800 "it still took three months to transform a pair of old linen pants into a sheet of writing paper." But the business prospered and by 1770 there were forty similar mills operating in the valley of the lower Delaware.[2] The enterprising printer, Benjamin Franklin, is said to have used most of the product of twelve of these paper mills. Among others Thomas Wilcox, who in 1732 had built a paper mill on Ridley Creek near Chester, made paper for "Doctor Franklin." This mill, known as the "Ivy Mills," is believed to have made the first writing paper manufactured in the colonies. It also produced the paper on which the great superabundance of Continental money was printed.[3] DeWarville states that in 1787 there were forty-eight paper mills in Pennsylvania alone

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[1] *A Short Description of Pennsylvania* by Richard Frame.
[2] Munsell's *Chronology of Paper and Paper Making*, p. 24.
[3] Letter of James M. Wilcox to Thomas Ewbank, December 17, 1850.

and that one of these on the Brandywine near Wilmington was owned by Thomas Gilpin and Myers Fisher.

First Machine-made Paper

This Thomas Gilpin was destined to revolutionize paper making and to pave the way for the era of cheap books, magazines, and the daily newspaper we now enjoy; for in 1816 he perfected a process whereby paper could be made in a continuous sheet and entirely by machinery. He and his brother made their own machinery and endeavored to keep the processes secret until they could patent them, but the discovery was too valuable to keep secret and the processes too easily imitated, and in the end they derived little benefit from the invention. Although type used in printing was made in Germantown by one of Christopher Saur's workmen as early as 1735 and greatly improved thereafter by other Philadelphia type founders, until 1814 it was used on screw presses operated by hand. From 1814 to 1818 George Clymer of Philadelphia made improvements in printing presses that entirely supplanted these old-time screw presses and helped to make the city the center of a great publishing business. This publishing business also found expression in newspapers and local publications in many of the smaller places of the valley.

The Swedes and Finns were farmers, as were also many of the English and German settlers of the valley. But the English brought with them a greater variety of skilled artisans than was to be found in any of the other early settlements. Included in the list were bakers; barbers, who were also chirurgeons; blacksmiths;

brasiers; brickmakers and bricklayers; butchers; cabinetmakers; carpenters; clock makers, who also usually were silversmiths; coopers; joiners; malsters; plasterers, potters; saddlers; shoemakers; soap makers; tailors; tallow chandlers; "besides many families of laboring People and Sawyers that live happily."[1] While the greater variety of occupations was to be found in the larger towns nearly all the smaller settlements had their blacksmith, wagon and cabinetmaker, shoemaker, weaver, and miller. And among the Germans in the Moravian settlements at Bethlehem and Nazareth nearly every known occupation was represented by the middle of the eighteenth century.

With the increase of wealth the number of silversmiths and skilled workers in wood also increased, and portrait painters and other artists began to appear. The cabinetmakers and other woodworkers of Philadelphia became especially noted for their beautiful designs and fine workmanship, evidence of which still remains in many of the older houses of the valley, and specimens of which are on display in the Metropolitan Museum in New York and in the period rooms of the Art Museum of Philadelphia. Such old mansions as Mount Pleasant (the Benedict Arnold house) in Fairmount Park well repay a visit for their cabinet and other woodwork treasures. The Philadelphia names of William Savery (1750), Jonathan Gostelowe (1760), Benjamin Randolph (1770), and Thomas Tuft (1780) will always stand for beauty and elegance of design, as well as for fine workmanship, and compare most favorably with the finest productions of the celebrated English cabinetmakers. John Elliott (1769) was noted

[1] Letter of John Gordon, 1695.

for designing and making mirrors of the best type; and Joseph Claypoole (1738), and Henry Clifton and James Gillingham (1768) were as justly famous for their interior woodwork. John Ross was a Philadelphia upholsterer who in 1773 was located on Chestnut Street between Front and Second. For his wife, "Betsey," the claim has erroneously been made that she was the designer of the Stars and Stripes, although she, no doubt, made flags for the American army.

The work of the following silversmiths is eagerly sought for by collectors: John and Philip Syng (1734–1752)—the latter made the silver inkstand from which the Declaration of Independence was signed; Joseph and Francis Richardson (1736); John David (1763); William Ball (1766), and Joseph Anthony (1783)—in Philadelphia; Bancroft Woodcock (1770), Richard Humphreys (1771), before he removed to Philadelphia in 1785, and John Stow (1772)—in Wilmington; and Samuel Stout (1780), Daniel Van Voorhis (1782), and Joseph Parker (1785)—in Princeton. No less than sixty-two silversmiths are recorded as in business in Philadelphia between the years 1725 and 1783. Noted Philadelphia pewterers were Cornelius Bradford, William Will, and Simon Myer.[1] Robert Kennedy did copper-plate printing, and also carried on what was probably the more profitable business of house painting and glazing.

The sharp sands of the lowlands of the Valley of the Delaware were found to be well adapted to the manufacture of glassware, and Penn speaks of a glass house started as early as 1683. Soon afterwards a combined glass house and pottery was built by the English Quakers

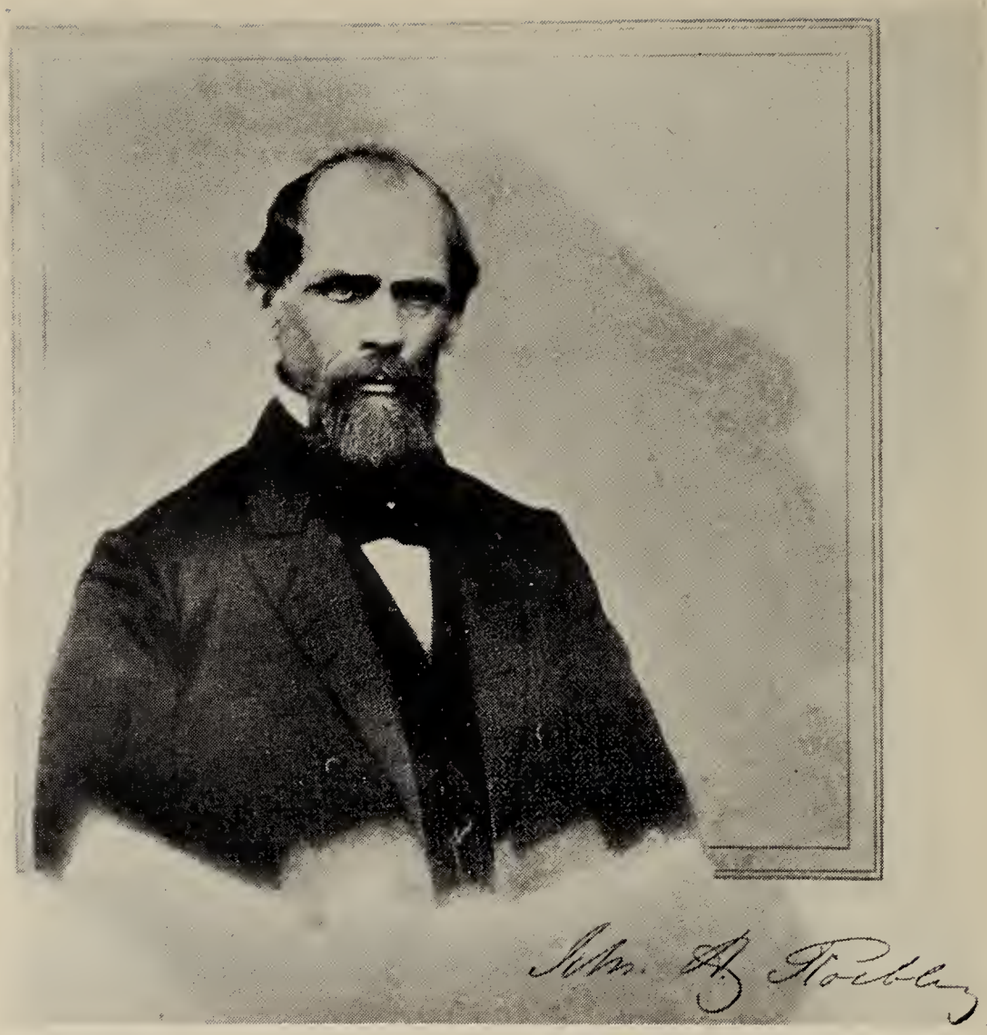
[1] Prime's *Arts and Crafts.*

in Frankford.[1] Probably only salt-glazed earthenware was made in this pottery as the early attempts at lead glazing for chinaware proved both crude and dangerous. In 1770 a pottery, using the composition "biscuit" then in general use in the English potteries, was opened in Southwark and with the assistance of imported English workmen it hoped to produce excellent "porcelain." But after two years the venture failed although before that the proprietors had experimented with a biscuit made from pottery clay found in the Carolinas. This seems to have been the first experiments with "kaolin" either in England or America, although it was in general use by the Chinese potters. It was well on in the nineteenth century before fine chinaware was produced in America.

"Tucker China" and "Slip Ware"

In 1827 William Ellis Tucker, with the financial assistance of Judge Hemphill, established a factory in Philadelphia where, by employing French decorators, he produced porcelain ("Tucker China") difficult to distinguish from the best ware made in France. Pottery works were also opened in Haddonfield, New Jersey; but they were soon transferred to Trenton where the industry has taken a leading part in chinaware production in the United States. The Germans had brought with them from the valley of the Rhine an artistic craving that found its first expression not only in decorated stove plates but also in interesting though crude chinaware, the first of which was made as early as 1733. One form of this ware was known as "slip ware" because its raised decorations were made by pass-

[1] Scharf & Westcott's *History of Philadelphia*, III—2298.



Courtesy, John A. Roebling Sons Co.

John A. Roebling who established the first wire-rope factory in the country in Trenton, New Jersey, in 1848. Designer and contractor for the famous Brooklyn (Suspension) Bridge.

Courtesy, John A. Roebling Sons Co.

The first buildings used by John A. Roebling for the manufacture of wire in Trenton. He came from Saxony in 1831 and died, 1869, from an accident while working on the Brooklyn Bridge project.

ing fine streams of "slip" through quills extending from a slip cup. In another form the slip was worked or scratched into designs with the aid of a pointed stick and was called "sgraffito ware." Both were commonly known as "tulip ware" because of the prevalence of conventionalized tulip designs in the decoration.[1] Most of this ware was produced in the German settlements along the Lehigh and Schuykill and in the adjoining southeastern portion of the valley of the Susquehanna. It was made as late as the year 1880.

Glassware

In 1769 Richard Wistar, Philadelphia manufacturer of brass buttons "good for seven years," also advertised window glass, bottles, etc., of his own make and therefore "clear of the duties the Americans so justly complain of." Before 1775 he had removed his glassworks to "Wistarburg," a settlement he had made near Salem, New Jersey. Here he continued to make all sorts of glassware until the works were sold in 1780. In 1773 glassworks were built in Kensington, Philadelphia, which, with various changes of owners, about 1830 came into the possession of Dr. Thomas W. Dyott. He developed them into the largest plant of the kind in the country. At the same time he built adjoining his works a model village, "Dyottville," for the housing of his employees. But one of the most interesting developments in the manufacture of American glassware occurred at Manheim, Lancaster County, in 1764. Here Henry William Stiegel, popularly known as "Baron Stiegel," developed glassware in the greatest variety of forms and colors and of most excellent quality. But the Baron became

[1] Barber's *Tulip Ware of the Pennsylvania Germans.*

financially embarrassed and spent some time in a debtors' prison in Philadelphia, being finally released and granted a small pension through a special act of the legislature.

First Drug Mill

Philadelphia took a leading interest in the production of drugs and chemicals. The demand for potash for soap making and the ease with which wood ashes for making it could be secured led to its manufacture as early as 1772. The production of other chemicals for household and industrial uses followed. In 1809 the Wetherills began to make white lead, and the following year began the production of other chemicals and drugs. But the drugs were entirely the product of mortar and pestle work until 1812, when Charles V. Hagner established at the Falls of the Schuylkill in Philadelphia the first plant for making drugs by machinery in the country, "probably in the world." His methods alarmed the other manufacturers of drugs, who at first regarded their business as ruined, because he was able to make in a single day what would have represented for them months of hard labor.

There have been stages in the manufacture of drugs and chemicals just as in other forms of industry. After the discovery of the fundamental principles of a new development various minds and hands usually are necessary to adapt them to practical uses, bring them to perfection, and so cheapen the cost of production as to make otherwise hard to obtain products available to the masses. The adaptation by Charles Tyson of Elias Howe's invention of the sewing machine to the sewing of heavy leather not only added to the impor-

tance of Howe's primary invention but also served to revolutionize the entire shoe industry. John Bedford in 1807 and Thomas Miles in 1818 had introduced machinery for the speedier and cheaper manufacture of shoes; but it remained for John Mundell to utilize the machine method of sewing the soles to the uppers and thus place the best shoes within the means of all; and incidentally to make Philadelphia, by 1870, the great center of the American shoe industry. Within recent years, however, Massachusetts has shorn it of this supremacy.

The earliest American manufacturer of carpets was William Calverly of Philadelphia. This was probably in 1774. In 1807 John Dorsey was making carpets "considered equal to the best Turkish and Axminster." But the methods they used bear but feeble comparison to what developed in the extensive mills of the Dobsons, established at the Falls of Schuylkill in 1855, and in the Bromley carpet mills, although when John Bromley started them in 1845 it was with but a single hand loom. Probably the most remarkable changes, however, have occurred in connection with printing. From the hand presses used in Franklin's time[1] to the multiple electrically driven rotary presses of today, made possible by the invention of Richard Hoe, seems almost like an Aladdin's dream. When we add to this typesetting machines, stereotyping, and the various processes for producing illustrations that have made possible the gushing stream of modern books, magazines, and newspapers, we are indeed in the land of romance.

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[1] Cf. Thomas' *History of Printing* for a list of the prominent printers of Philadelphia prior to the Revolution.

This element of romance has accompanied a number of the large industries of the Valley of the Delaware, although failure and even tragedy have dogged the footsteps of some of its worthiest inventors and most promising enterprises. John Fitch who, after inventing a successful steamboat, ended his days in poverty and a suicide's grave, and Baron Stiegel who before the Revolution had one of the best furnaces and most promising glassworks in the country are but two of the illustrations of failures and tragedies which have occurred. The growth from small beginnings of the Philadelphia hat factory of John B. Stetson, "hatter to the world"; of the Midvale Steel Works of Philadelphia and the Bethlehem Steel plant at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; of the Victor Talking Machine Company and the Van Sciver Furniture Company of Camden, New Jersey; and of several of the large retail stores of Philadelphia are some of the illustrations of romantic success when it has been fostered by initiative and good judgment. But the romantic drama of industrial success is probably best illustrated by the phenomenal development of the DuPont industries which have Wilmington, Delaware, as their center. When, as a refugee from France, Ireneé DuPont in 1802 seized the opportunity to manufacture powder for the American market he little dreamed that powder making would prove to be but a small part of the valuable products that would grow out of the making of explosives, nor that the small plant on the Brandywine would grow until it spread its branches into a majority of the states of the Union. The Valley of the Delaware has always presented exceptional opportunities to initiative, energy, and reliability.

The "Centennial"

When it was proposed to celebrate the centennial of American independence, Philadelphia very naturally was selected for its observance. This celebration soon took the form of an industrial exhibition of both national and international progress during the hundred years that had elapsed from the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, in the State House (now known as Independence Hall), in Philadelphia on the fourth of July, 1776. There were also other reasons why this metropolis of the Valley of the Delaware was selected. These additional reasons were ably set forth when the Hon. Daniel J. Morrell presented the matter to Congress. He said:

> "If it is conceded that an industrial exhibition is to be made in the city where the industries are found in greatest variety and perfection, no further enumeration of Philadelphia's advantages or claims need be made. New York may justly claim to be the commercial capital, but Philadelphia is certainly the industrial capital of America. Today Philadelphia is the first manufacturing city on this continent, and the second in the world, London being the first."

And the rest of the valley has been assisting ever since in retaining this supremacy, both by the variety and the quantity of products that they have placed on the world's markets and by the skill and ingenuity they have manifested in making these products so desirable.

Chapter IX

GOVERNMENT

The United States was settled by people from countries so racially different that any amalgamation of them in language, ideals, and interests would at first have seemed impossible. And probably it would have been so in Europe where conditions were so fixed and so fully controlled by the past. But America had no past to hamper its beginnings. Although the settlements along the Atlantic coast, in addition to their racial differences, were for some years separated by great stretches of wilderness, easy communication by water was open to them and the hardships and dangers of pioneer life soon began the work of building up interests that were held in common. Distance from their home countries and friends threw the settlers on their own resources and fostered the idea of interdependence. The great stretches of unoccupied land to be had almost for the asking also made migration from colony to colony comparatively easy and helped to further the cause of mutual understanding and respect so that the English Puritans of New England, the land-owning Dutch Reformed group of New York, the peace-loving Quakers and Germans of Pennsylvania, the Proprietary Catholics of Maryland, and the Anglican Cavaliers of Virginia[1] quite early had an opportunity for more or less intimate knowledge of one another.

[1] Wells's *Outline of History*, 3d ed, p. 831.

It is always interesting to watch the development of political ideals from seed planted in virgin soil, and it should be both interesting and instructive to follow such developments among a self-governing people. And no other early American colony presented quite the unique conditions for such study as did the settlements on the Delaware. When Charles II, on March 4, 1681, granted unto "William Penn, Esq.," the ownership and government of the land on the west side of the Delaware "from twelve miles distance Northwards of New Castle Towne unto the three and fortieth degree of northerne latitude" and extending westwards five degrees of longitude, he granted the central part of a region which, because of its early development, its favorable location in regard to the other colonies and the important countries of Europe, has been called "the citadel of America." This region has also been greatly favored in its means of communication through the Delaware and Chesapeake bays and the Delaware and Hudson rivers and their tributaries. Not only was Penn's province the center of this favored region but through his efficient advertising, his guarantees of religious and civil freedom, and the opportunities for land owning and other material betterments offered in his province, great floods of immigrants were speedily drawn into the Valley of the Delaware.

These immigrants came from Quaker and Anglican England, Presbyterian Scotland and northern Ireland, as well as from Holland, Switzerland, and Germany, the lands where after the Reformation many sects and beliefs had arisen.[1] The Lutheran Swedes and Finns

[1] Doctor Sachse in his *German Pietists of Pennsylvania* lists some sixteen sects of Pietists alone.

were already well seated there. All had come with their various political, social, and religious ideas, and yet Penn not only ventured to vision their melting together into a harmonious group but also dared to feel that under his paternal oversight they would become a self-governing people. The land was cheap and fertile, the climate favorable and, wiser than his contemporaries, Penn had made friends instead of enemies of the Indians. And for more than fifty years the Valley of the Delaware stood out as an example of peace and exceptional prosperity. Settlements spread rapidly, other resources besides those of the soil began to be utilized, and the great body of the people were busy building up comfort for themselves and for their children.[1]

But Penn had no light problem of government confronting him. There had already been no less than five changes of governmental control on the Delaware, and there were already there three nationalities to deal with, four if we include the Indians. In addition, the people coming in such numbers were of the type that had been independent to the point of persecution in their religious thinking and practice, and were likely to do their own thinking also in civil affairs, especially since he had guaranteed them a share in the government.

Although with but a few limitations the charter granted Penn gave him almost absolute authority over his province, this authority was never abused by Penn himself; and while he was personally present in his province no serious friction occurred between the rising factions. But with his deputies, who were not always

[1] It is interesting to note that the "Pilgrims" had intended to settle north of Virginia near the 40th parallel, but were driven "by contrary winds" to the Cape Cod region. The contrary winds were more likely the secret plans of the Plymouth Company.

wisely chosen, it was a different matter. This was especially true under his heirs, some of whom were not imbued with his liberal spirit.

Penn in an open letter written[1] a month after he had secured his charter assured all coming under his government:

> "You shall be governed by laws of your own makeing, and live a free, and if you will, a sober and industrious People. . . . In short, whatever sober and free men can reasonably desire for the security and improvement of their own happiness I shall heartily comply with."

In accordance with this pledge, soon after his arrival in Chester in the fall of 1682 he called a meeting of the settlers and, in conference with them, adopted a form of government which was a radical departure from existing European governments in the extent of the power placed in the hands of the people.

As finally adopted the government included a deputy or Lieutenant Governor appointed by Penn, who had a council of advisers known as the Provincial Council; there was also an Assembly elected by the people, every freeman owning fifty acres of land or having property valued at fifty pounds being entitled to vote. At first the governor and his council originated all laws, but the Assembly soon managed to secure this privilege although the governor retained the necessary right under Penn's charter of absolute veto. The judges and all other provincial officials were appointed by the governor from double the number of eligibles presented to him by the Assembly.[2] Although a great deal of power was placed in the hands of the people, these privileges of

[1] From London, April 8, 1681.
[2] Cf. *A Quaker Experiment in Government* by Sharpless, II, p. 1.

appointment enabled the Proprietary to retain a strong hold on the execution of the laws, especially since not only the appointment but also the pay of these officials rested with the Penns.

In two respects Penn himself saw the necessity of a change in his Frame of Government as he had planned it in England—one was in the nature of a simplification of the fundamental laws; the other, a great reduction in the number of persons represented in the government of the province—curiously, two of the things which after two and a half centuries we are learning are a fundamental need of our own governmental systems. Even though many of Penn's ideas of government were not original with him, two features of his own were unique in seventeenth century practice—one was the civil and religious equality guaranteed to every citizen and another a code for the administration of justice that was far in advance of his time. In his government he also recognized that the reform of a criminal was more important than his punishment; hence, contrary to the prevailing practice, he limited capital punishment to two offenses only, murder and treason.[1]

But before the end of the colonial period capital offenses had been increased to fourteen; and before 1756, when Quaker dominance in government practically ended, a condition had developed similar to Puritan surveillance when even slight departures from a strict moral code subjected the offender to a fine and even to presentment before the court. And this punishment was meted out regardless of wealth or position; for it occurred not infrequently that grand jurymen and even

[1] At that time in England execution was provided in case of nearly 200 offenses.

justices themselves were subjected to these indictments and punishments. Even though Penn himself regarded some things as punishable that were long ago relegated to the sphere of moral law, he already realized that the freedom and efficiency of a government depend more upon the spirit in which it is administered than upon its mere form.

However, Pennsylvania was not the first and only American province in which the spirit of self-government manifested itself. Virginia elected a popular House of Burgesses as early as 1619; in Massachusetts, delegates elected by the freemen of the colony became members of the general court in 1634; in Maryland a House of Burgesses was chosen in 1639; in New Jersey an Assembly with lawmaking power was elected in 1668; and in South Carolina freemen took part in lawmaking through their representatives in 1674. This led Bancroft to say: "Popular assemblies burst everywhere into life with a consciousness of their importance and an immediate capacity for efficient legislation." But nowhere else in the thirteen colonies was the course of self-government so continuous—with less interruption through royal interference and the dominance of despotic governors.

Penn and his heirs suffered serious embarrassment from their disputes with Lord Baltimore and others in regard to their rival territorial claims. Lord Baltimore's charter for Maryland, granted in 1632, stated that his possessions were to extend to the 40th parallel and include all lands "not planted or in the possession of any Christian people."[1] Markham, who bore a

[1] A principle set forth by Queen Elizabeth and since generally accepted as international law.

letter from the king authorizing him to confer with Calvert (Lord Baltimore) in regard to boundaries, soon discovered that Calvert's charter might include land desired by Penn.[1] When so notified by Markham, Penn completed negotiations with his friend, the Duke of York, for the land on the west side of Delaware Bay and secured the deeds of feoffment which assured him of an outlet to the ocean. The Duke rested his claim to the territory on the Delaware on the charter given him by his brother, Charles II, in 1664, and which covered all of "New Netherlands" seized from the Dutch at that time. The grant that the King had made to Lord Baltimore in 1632 the Duke entirely ignored in so far as it applied to land on the Delaware. Although Lord Baltimore raised no issue with the Duke, the dividing lines between Maryland and Penn's possessions remained a subject of controversy for over seventy years. Several boundary lines were at various times proposed; but the final one was not surveyed until in 1762 when two noted engineers, Thomas Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, surveyed the present famous "Mason and Dixon's line."

The governments of most of the colonies were plagued by similar disputes growing out of the recklessness and ignorance of the geography of America with which the early territorial grants were made.[2] But the Pennsylvania authorities were especially unfortunate in this respect; for this long drawn-out dispute led to serious friction, and even to bloodshed, growing out of questions of jurisdiction in the southern tier of counties of Pennsylvania. Under Penn's heirs

[1] In fact, even his capital city, Philadelphia, is slightly south of 40° N. Lat.

[2] A map in Capt. John Smith's *History of Virginia* shows the 40th parallel just about where the final boundary line was fixed.

similar trouble developed in the interior of Pennsylvania north of the 41st parallel, where the land was claimed by both Pennsylvania and Connecticut. The struggle arising there over rival land grants made by these two provinces and which developed into the bloody local war, between the "Yankees" and the "Pennamites," known as the Pennamite War, was not finally settled until an agreement between the two states was arrived at in a conference held in Trenton, New Jersey, in 1782.[1] Pennsylvania's dispute with Virginia in regard to its southwestern boundary line was not settled until even later. For a commonwealth established on the principles of peace, Penn and his heirs fought an abundance of legal battles and were the indirect means of plenty of bloodshed in the early days.

In any consideration of governmental development on the Delaware, western New Jersey and Delaware must be taken into account, for there were well-established Quaker settlements at Salem and Burlington and at least two Dutch settlements in Delaware even before Penn had secured his grant of Pennsylvania. A few months before the completion of the conquest of New Netherlands by the English in 1664, the Duke of York made his grant of the territory of New Jersey to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, thus separating it from New York with whose history the northeastern part of the state is so closely associated. In 1674 Lord Berkeley sold his interests in the province to Edward Byllinge, whose financial embarrassments soon led to their being placed in charge of Penn and two other trustees. It was two years later that under the Quinti-

[1] Cf. Fredk. W. Gnichtel's address, *The Trenton Decree of 1782 and the Pennamite War*, delivered before the Trenton Historical Society in 1920.

partite Deed the province was divided into two parts, East New Jersey and West New Jersey.

Byllinge's trustees secured West New Jersey and the following March published a form of government known as the "Concessions." The resemblance of these concessions to Penn's Frame of Government shows his hand in their preparation, and reveals also the beginning of his interest in the Valley of the Delaware as a place where Christians could be treated as men and where power could be intrusted to the people. For many years the history of this part of New Jersey was closely linked up with that of Pennsylvania and Delaware, although "The Jerseys" were united into a royal province in 1702 and from that time waged their contests over governmental prerogatives with royal governors instead of with Proprietors, as was the case in Pennsylvania. Burlington was the seat of government for West New Jersey prior to 1702, and most of the land deals were recorded in its court. These early records are peculiar because of the original division of Byllinge's holdings into one hundred parts, ten of which were assigned to John Fenwick, agent for Byllinge and who seated a Quaker colony at Salem in 1675. And some were combined into "tenths," two of which were sold to the Quakers who settled Burlington two years later.

Penn had greatly liberalized his form of government before he was called back to England in 1684 to protect his claims as against those of Lord Baltimore (Cecil Calvert). He left his colonial affairs in charge of his Provincial Council, with the great seal of the province in charge of Thomas Lloyd, the president of the council. Penn did not return until 1699, thus leaving his government in the hands of deputies for fifteen years during

a crucial period when his presence might have prevented friction and better protected his own interests. Although the government was practically under Quaker control until in 1756, several strong parties with divergent views had in the meantime arisen. These were the Proprietary party, headed by the governor and his council and with a following composed of those who favored a stable government and the existing order of things; the people's party ably led by David Lloyd, Penn's Attorney General, and which was insistent on curtailing the prerogatives of the Proprietary; and a party that favored making all the colonies royal provinces. The last was largely under the influence of Judge Quarry, who was in charge of the King's Colonial Admiralty Court and who soon got into bitter controversy with the Proprietary authorities over questions of prerogative. Although the Friends and the German settlers in general favored the Proprietary rights, the Quaker Assembly, under the leadership of David Lloyd, soon wrested the authority to originate legislation and appoint officials from the hands of the Provincial Council and left only the power of veto and the rejection of nominations with the governor, the latter being required by the terms of Penn's charter. Penn's return with his family in 1699 was hailed with joy because his presence promised the settlement of many petty quarrels. But the danger of Pennsylvania being made a royal province again called him back to England in the fall of 1701, and he never returned.

With all of his belief in the ability of a people to be self-governing, Penn could never entirely free himself from assuming a paternal attitude toward his people, nor from the feeling that his proprietorship carried

with it the right of special privileges in preëmpting lands for himself and family. He also held firmly to the plan of retaining quitrents in the land he sold, probably not so much for the income they yielded as for the old feudal idea that thereby the grantor retained some hold upon the grantee.[1] But withal he was one of the world's greatest philanthropists and the founder of a commonwealth whose inception was unique in the pages of history. His sons were more grasping and soon met with an opposition that was determined in its efforts to curtail the prerogatives they claimed in regard to preëmption and lower taxes on their holdings. This opposition was also persistent in its efforts to have some of the quitrent receipts turned over to the support of the government. The colorless position in which the Penns placed many of their deputies also led to opposition and disregard of their authority. Jealousy of anything savoring of feudal control and a disposition to insist on the sovereignty of the people developed also in some of the other colonies; and yet, "But for the hereditary office of proprietor, Pennsylvania had been a representative democracy."[2]

The "Gloucester Compact"

Western New Jersey prior to 1702 also had interesting experiences in self-government. Town meetings which decided questions of local government and elected officials were common; and in 1686 occurred a meeting of the citizens of the third and fourth "tenths" (the entire region from the Burlington to the Salem tenths) at which they agreed to obey the laws enacted for the

[1] Cf. Gordon's *History of Pennsylvania.*
[2] Bancroft's *History of the United States.*

common good. This is known as the "Gloucester Compact" and outranks the famous Mayflower Compact in the number of people and the complexity of the problems involved.[1]

There were several streams of immigrants, attracted to the Valley of the Delaware by Penn's liberal ideas and its great natural advantages, that must also be taken into the governmental account. In addition to Friends from England, Wales, and Ireland, Switzerland and the German Palatinate emptied thousands of their harassed Pietists into the lap of its fertile soil. Presbyterians from Scotland and the north of Ireland, hampered by English restrictions on their industries and trade and dissatisfied with the strict rule of the kirk over their civil as well as religious life, entered by the way of New York and, moving across New Jersey, entered Pennsylvania where they met a similar stream moving north from Philadelphia. These "Scotch-Irish" were the true frontiersmen of their day and not only served as a bulwark to the other settlers, repaying any depredations of the Indians with compound interest, but they were also independent and fearless in their attitude toward the constituted authorities. They were accompanied in their western and southwestern movements by the more aggressive younger Germans and in the Ohio Valley they were joined by enterprising "Yankees" from New England. The gradual amalgamation of these migrating streams has given America the finest material of its democratic West.

"This migration was so great both in its physical dimensions and in the political and social effects which it has wrought, that Pennsylvania acquires especial interest as the

[1] Cf. Mickle's *Reminiscences of Old Gloucester.*

temporary tarrying place and distributing center for so much that we now call characteristically American."[1]

On two important points the Scotch-Irish and the Germans thoroughly agreed: they had come to America to enjoy personal freedom, as well as personal opportunity; and they were convinced that there should be a complete separation of church and state.[2] In so far as religious beliefs affected civil and political conduct, the Friends fully agreed with them; but the Friends were opposed to war. The Church of England, which early became firmly seated in the lower Delaware Valley, stood as a strong friend to the government and its prerogatives; and after the death of Penn the Proprietary was closely allied with this faith. Political contests naturally arose because of these different points of view. Although the Friends never constituted a majority of the population, they were well organized and always able to elect a preponderant number of the assemblymen in Pennsylvania; and for some years they were also able to exercise a predominating influence over governmental affairs in western New Jersey. A test of their power came, however, when after the death of Penn the Indians began to manifest hostile dissatisfaction with their treatment by the whites.

The greed of Penn's heirs in the notorious Walking Purchase of 1737 not only deprived the Indians of their favorite hunting grounds and drove them from several of their most prosperous villages, but it also completely alienated the hitherto friendly Delawares. The injustice of this act furnished opportunity for French emis-

[1] Fiske's *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, I, 317.

[2] In Maryland the Toleration Act extended only to those who believed in the Trinity, disbelief in which doctrine was punishable by death. *Ibid.*, II, 322.

saries to foment trouble as the struggle between the French and the English for territorial control approached the breaking point; and in 1754 the Lenni-Lenape, as allies of the French, started on the warpath in the upper Delaware region. This was at the beginning of the French and Indian War in America. With Braddock's defeat, the Indians from the western frontiers swarmed into the valley of the Susquehanna and even fell upon settlements in the Schuylkill valley within forty or fifty miles of Philadelphia. It was then that the unprepared inhabitants of Reading were so greatly alarmed that there was thought of abandoning the town. But with the firmer counsel that prevailed, militia organizations were formed which drove back the enemy and developed confidence in the ability of the people to defend themselves. These voluntary military organizations proved to be a helpful arm of the government and were destined to play an important part in all of the colonies in the serious troubles which soon began to develop.

Petitions for protection from the Indians flowed in upon the Assembly and the governor became insistent upon appropriations for defense. In this he was ably seconded by Benjamin Franklin, who had become a champion of the people as against the practices of the Proprietors in connection with what they held to be their vested charter rights. Although the Quaker Assembly refused to grant revenues directly for defense, as the ravaging Indians drew dangerously near they did appropriate a helpful sum "to the aid of the king." This presented the peculiar situation of a representative body countenancing what their own tenets and those of their constituents firmly denounced.

However, the problem of the distinction between offensive and defensive warfare, so confusing to pacifists even in our own day, had already arisen. But a severer test of the Quaker attitude toward armed resistance was soon to follow.

The Paxtang Boys

Highly wrought up by a recurrence of Indian atrocities near the close of the war, a number of the settlers of Paxtang and Donegal townships, south of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, wreaked their vengeance upon a near-by Indian village where they killed six and then broke into the jail in Lancaster, where fourteen Indians had been placed for safety, and murdered all of them regardless of age or sex. They, then, to the number of about 500 started for Philadelphia, to which place several hundred Indians had fled for refuge, threatening to destroy them as well as anyone who might endeavor to interfere with their plans. The Indians were housed in the "Barracks" and the citizens in general seized arms and turned out for their defense. In the excitement caused by the premeditated outrage, a number of Quakers, old as well as young, joined in this militant preparation; for this some of them later were led to express contrition, but others failed to be convinced by the expostulations of the various committees sent to visit them, and the matter seems finally to have been dropped.[1] The "Paxtang Boys," as they were called, were met in Germantown by a committee of prominent citizens and persuaded to return peaceably to their homes.

Central and eastern Pennsylvania had borne the brunt of the Indian atrocities during the war and the

[1] Sharpless' *A Quaker Experiment in Government.*

Raid of the Paxtang Boys, which occurred in December, 1763, although but a minor occurrence, reveals the growing temper of the people under provocation to act independently or even in defiance of the constituted authorities. Although the colonies in general contributed men and money to the Canadian campaigns of the war, Pennsylvania, through the energetic efforts of Franklin, furnished most of the wagons and supplies for Braddock's army. And it was the westward march of General Forbes's army, to which Pennsylvania had contributed 2700 men and Virginia 1900, that broke the power of the French in the central colonies, gave the English Fort Duquesne and control of the Ohio country, and at least temporarily intimidated the Indians. What Braddock had failed to accomplish with his "Body of the King's Troops" in 1755, had been accomplished with the aid of American militiamen in 1758.[1]

But this war, which put an end to French ambitions in the western world and made Great Britain the dominant power in America, was as Parkman says but the first of the chain of events which led to the Revolution "with all its vast and undeveloped consequences." A chain of forts, extending from New Jersey in the upper Delaware region to the other side of the Alleghenies, familiarized even the unwarlike Moravians of Bethlehem and Nazareth with the presence of troops and the value of organized defense.[2] It gave to those who participated in the war a military training that proved of service later on, and also furnished the colonial governments practical lessons in the value of

[1] See Braddock's pompous proclamation in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. 2, p. 290.

[2] Cf. *The Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania.*

combined efforts. There had been a union of several New England settlements, as early as 1643, for defense against the Indians; and leaders in the Valley of the Delaware had already made several efforts at a union of the colonies. Penn had outlined in 1696 the advantages of a union of the colonies for commerce and safety; Daniel Coxe of Burlington, New Jersey, planned a general union of the colonies as early as 1724; and Franklin's historic "Plan of Union" was presented to an assembly of the representatives of most of the colonies gathered at Albany in 1754.

Although several of the colonies had already engaged in wordy battles over prerogatives with their governors, there was no thought in any of these plans of union of antagonism to English rule. Up to this time adverse acts of Parliament had affected only a few lines of activity, and the people were so busy producing the raw materials demanded by the English and West Indian markets that their loyalty to "the mother country" was not seriously affected. But there was an attitude towards a strongly centralized government prevalent in Europe that had but slight meaning in America—a fact not emphasized as it deserves. Conditions in Europe for many years had been such that the people welcomed, even under heavy exactions, the strong arm of centralized power as a refuge from the ambitions and ruthlessness of near-by petty tyrants. In America such rulers and such conditions were only a distant memory. England was so distant and manifested so little interest in the colonists that the masses were gradually weaned from any but a sentimental allegiance to it.

The stress of conditions led the colonists both to think and to act for themselves; and their contests with the

royal governors were largely based upon their methods of administration and of a character which rarely led them to think of or question the ultimate authority of the distant English king whom these governors represented. In Pennsylvania and Delaware, however, where under their charters the government was so fully vested in the proprietors, one or more of whom were usually present, both the proprietors and their principles of government seemed to be legitimate objects of attack. Franklin, who had come to Philadelphia in 1723, soon became conspicuous in these attacks. Although he is accused of "misstatements and partisanship"[1] in many of them, Penn's heirs did many things which led the people to think of their own civic and political rights, and we see emerging gradually open questioning of anything savoring of the restriction of these rights.

As early as 1734, when John Peter Zenger was imprisoned in New York for daring to criticize the acts of the royal governor, Andrew Hamilton (a veteran barrister of Philadelphia) was ready with a defense which not only secured Zenger's release but also won for all time what we are pleased to call "freedom of the press" for America. And when the news of the passage, in the spring of 1765, of the Stamp Act reached America, one of Philadelphia's newspapers edged its sheet with black and announced the death of liberty "from a stamp in its vitals." William Bradford's *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser* announced in its issue of October 31, 1765, that it would be discontinued in the hope that "Methods can be found to elude the Chains forged for us, and escape the insupportable Slavery."

[1] Sharpless' *A Quaker Experiment in Government*, II, p. 15.

Although opposition to the Stamp Act in England as well as America led to its repeal, it did not end the determination of the king and his ministers to curb what they had come to regard as a haughty and unwarranted growth of the spirit of liberty in America.

Other oppressive acts of Parliament led to the formation and growth of non-importation societies and the organizations of various lines of activity for spreading information and preparing arguments of defense. There certainly has never been a time in American history when the masses were better informed or more keenly interested in public questions than during this pre-Revolutionary period. In Massachusetts this was through public appeals by such orators as Samuel Adams, James Otis, and John Hancock; in the Valley of the Delaware it was through the press and the writings of such clear thinkers as Thomas Paine in his *Common Sense* and *The Crisis*, which informed the people of the real issues at stake, and John Dickinson[1] of Delaware who, through his *Farmers' Letters* published in 1768, endeavored to convince the British of the legal justification of American resistance. Of Dickinson's letters it has been said: "They are the appeals of a statesman and not of a demagogue."

The New England orators probably unduly inflamed the people and made it difficult for the friends of America in England, and there were many of them, to secure favorable hearing for the solution of the growing antagonisms. William Logan, writing from London the 6th mo. 21st, 1768, said: "The Boston papers have been foolishly irritating." About the same time Dr. John

[1] Whom Bancroft calls "the pure-minded and ingenuous patriot," although he was not always the prompt man of action demanded by the times.

From an old painting, courtesy, Berks County Historical Society

Old Courthouse, Reading, Pennsylvania, erected 1762; removed 1841. A tablet on its wall bore the initials of the names of the commissioners: Jacob Lightfoot, Christopher Whitman, and John Hughes.

From an old painting owned by Frank H. Stewart

First U. S. Mint, 37-39 North Seventh Street, Philadelphia, showing the three buildings used. Two of these were the first public buildings erected by Act of Congress. Constructed while Washington was President and living in Philadelphia.

Fothergill, a prominent English Quaker, wrote to James Pemberton of Philadelphia:

> "Nothing has created so great difficulties to your friends or furnished your opponents with so many arguments against you as the tumultuous behavior of too many on your side of all ranks."

Doctor Fothergill was a London physician who had as patients several men prominent in English affairs, hence he was in a position to know the crown's attitude toward America; and James Pemberton was a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly and well able to keep Doctor Fothergill informed of American conditions to assist him in his friendly efforts in behalf of the colonies.

To add to the difficulty of adjustment, British soldiers sent to assist the customs officials in order to prevent the smuggling which had greatly increased, came into collision with the citizens of New York, in what is known as the "Battle of Golden Hill," early in 1770; and two months later the "Boston Massacre" occurred. An armed British schooner sent to Philadelphia to prevent smuggling, while lying off Red Bank in November, 1771, seized a pilot boat accused of illegal traffic. During the night another pilot boat armed with about thirty Americans with blackened faces boarded the king's vessel, beat and wounded the crew, and confined them in the hold. They then ran the schooner on a bar and escaped with both the pilot boats.[1]

Although only a few lost their lives in these various collisions, they greatly increased the tension and made it evident to the more thoughtful that a crisis was approaching. Then in 1773 occurred the effort to secure

[1] Scharf & Westcott's *History of Philadelphia*, III, p. 1802.

the submission of the colonists to the principle of British taxation through the subterfuge of cheap tea to be furnished by the East India Company. This aroused such a storm of indignation that in Philadelphia a customs official sent from Boston fled the city for fear of tar and feathers, and at meetings held in October and November arrangements were made to prevent the landing of tea. On Christmas Day, 1773, it was learned that the ship *Polly*, Captain Ayres, had arrived at Gloucester with a cargo of tea on board. Two days later Captain Ayres was "persuaded" at a meeting held in Independence Square that it would be wise for him to return to England with his cargo. Tea afterwards discovered was dumped into the Delaware.

"The Greenwich Tea Party"

The students of the college at Princeton burned the tea their steward had on hand; but the boldest episode called forth by the tea act occurred at Greenwich, New Jersey, on the night of December 22, 1774. A cargo of tea brought by the brig *Greyhound* had been landed and stored there awaiting a favorable opportunity to take it to Philadelphia. While a local Committee of Safety was deliberating what to do with it, the young men of the vicinity decided the matter for them by burning it in the public square and without any effort to disguise either themselves or their act.[1] This was a bolder act than that of the Boston Tea Party the previous December, which had led to the enforced closing of the port of Boston and the vigorously expressed sympathy of the other colonies, as well as a general outcry against the tyranny of the crown.

[1] *Tea Burners of Cumberland County, New Jersey*, by Frank J. Andrews.

Owing to the strained relations with England, the colonies deemed it advisable to hold a congress of their representatives. This congress met in Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, September 5, 1774. A conciliatory but dignified written appeal to the king was prepared and a declaration of rights drawn up to be presented to the people of England. They knew a new Parliament was about to be elected and hoped that their efforts

> "would carry such conviction to the British nation of the unjust and ruinous policy of the present administration, as quickly to introduce better men and wiser measures."

But the king proved inflexible and the Americans unyielding, and little came of this First Continental Congress excepting the advantages of a first meeting together in a common cause of their leading men.

When the news of the skirmish at Lexington, on the nineteenth of April, 1775, swept across the colonies it became evident that war with the mother country could not be avoided; for General Gage had been sent with his British troops for the evident purpose of quelling rebellion with an iron hand. From this time on the spirit of rebellion moved in the direction of a revolution which would break the allegiance with Great Britain and set up a separate government. A second congress, at which the entire thirteen colonies were represented, convened in Philadelphia May 10, 1775, and independence, which was already in the minds of many, soon became the main subject of consideration. But it was evident from the beginning that the delegates represented the varied interests naturally associated with the origin and development of each of the provinces they represented, and that no thought of the submergence

of special interests for the sake of a strong union had yet been born.

Some of the delegates came hedged in by specific instructions and others feared a complete separation from what they knew to be a well-established, even if arbitrary, government. Samuel Adams and John Hancock were for independence and John Adams and Benjamin Franklin had reluctantly come to the conclusion that it was inevitable; but John Dickinson, who later withdrew as a delegate, and Robert Morris believed the time was not yet ripe for it. Although slow in arriving at a decision, preparations for defense which had begun under militia organizations known as "Associators" were continued; and when it was learned that Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne had arrived in Boston with strong reinforcements for the British army, George Washington, who was serving as a delegate from Virginia, was unanimously elected as commander-in-chief of the "Continental Army." This appointment, said John Adams, "will have a great effect in cementing the union of these colonies." Then followed the Battle of Bunker Hill, on June 17, 1775, and the arrival of Washington who took charge of the army collecting at Cambridge and, after nine months of drilling of his motley troops, forced the British to evacuate Boston. When they did so, they changed the base of their operations to New York.

Cæsar Rodney's Ride

After more than a year of deliberation during which, through the insistence of John Dickinson, further efforts at conciliation were made, this Second Continental Congress, on motion of Richard Henry Lee of Virginia,

declared on the fourth of July, 1776, the colonies to be free and independent states. Two incidents connected with the vote, which was by states, are worth noting because upon them hinged the unanimous vote necessary for securing the Declaration. Of the three delegates from Delaware, George Reed regarded the Declaration as premature and Cæsar Rodney, who did not expect an early vote on the matter, was absent on public and private business when the third member, Thomas McKean, found the voting on the issue to be imminent. Realizing the vital importance of Rodney's vote and knowing that it would be favorable to independence, he sent a mounted messenger in haste to Rodney's home. Though suffering at the time from the cancer which later caused his death, he mounted a speedy horse and in spite of a severe summer storm covered without rest the distance from his home near Dover to the State House in Philadelphia, where McKean anxiously awaited him, in time to cast a favorable vote. The other incident is connected with the vote of Pennsylvania which was so evenly divided that the decision rested upon the vote of John Morton. Notwithstanding the entreaties of some of his warmest friends, he stood by his final conclusion that the Declaration was warranted and wise and thus helped to place his state on record with the others in regard to it. His words and predictions in regard to his decision are chiseled on his monument in one of Chester's oldest graveyards.

The Stars and Stripes

The news of the adoption of the Declaration was sent out from Philadelphia by messengers with the request that it be read at noon on the eighth of July to the

citizens assembled at the various county seats. At Easton, where the citizens of Northampton County gathered, the reading was followed by the ringing of the old courthouse bell and the unfurling of a flag prepared by the patriotic women of the county. As this flag was composed of stars and stripes it seems to have been a direct forerunner of our flag adopted by act of the Congress on June 17, 1777, although in the Easton flag the stars were in the "field" and the stripes in the "union." Several of the bells rung in some of these county seats are still in existence and, like the sacred relic in Independence Hall, are known as Liberty Bells.

The Second Continental Congress formed the central governing body for the newly created states; and the State House, or Independence Hall as it is now called, was the *capitol* of the country. But this new governing body had no executive head, was without a judicial department, and occupied the unique position of having no authority to enforce its decrees. It was also without a treasury, a navy, or a standing army with which to carry on the war upon which the country had entered. It could recommend quotas of troops and supplies; but the states, with the possible exception of Massachusetts, had no well-organized systems of taxation with which to finance these requested quotas. Under these conditions success of the Americans seemed to Europeans to be extremely doubtful. But England was soon engaged in European struggles and had to send the troops she could spare and hire in small ships a tedious journey of 3000 miles. War supplies had also to be transported this long distance and the British commanders soon realized the dangers and difficulties of endeavoring to live upon a country where the vital points of attack were

still widely separated by great stretches of unbroken wilderness. Under such conditions militia companies, which could be collected readily and as readily dissolved, rendered effective service, even though they could not be relied upon for a well-organized campaign.

H. G. Wells has criticized the American Commander Washington as "a conspicuously indolent man,"[1] having in mind, no doubt, what he regards as too few offensive campaigns. But considering the conditions under which he fought, the activity and skill he manifested when pursued by a superior force in his retreat across New Jersey, the brief but decisive manner in which he dealt with the British forces at Trenton and Princeton, and the vigor with which he followed and attacked General Clinton when the British evacuated Philadelphia, such an accusation lacks foundation. It is true he was defeated at the Battle of Chadd's Ford, but he prevented the British from getting into Philadelphia promptly enough to assist Burgoyne, for whose capture Washington had sent some of his best troops. And when the British did get into Philadelphia, Washington soon reminded them at the Battle of Germantown that a dangerous foe was near at hand.

Then followed for the Americans the disheartening scenes at Valley Forge during the winter of 1777–78; and yet Valley Forge, combined with the bitter weather, held Howe's army shut up in Philadelphia and kept it under the deteriorating influences that led Franklin wittily to say: "Howe has not so much captured Philadelphia as Philadelphia has captured Gen. Howe." And when Howe's inactivity led to his recall, Philadelphians witnessed the amazing spectacle of seeing an

[1] Wells's *Outlines of History*, 3d ed., p. 850.

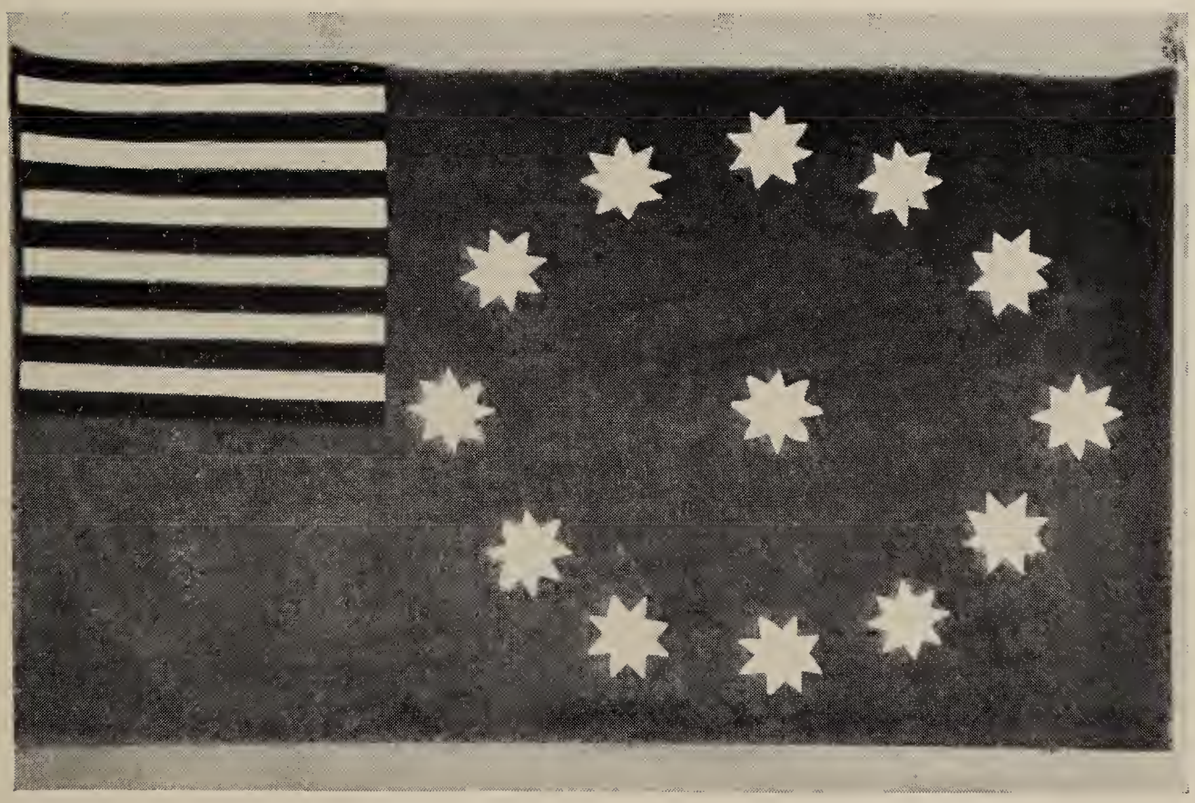
attempt to honor a discredited commander by means of a silly reproduction of a sixteenth century tournament in an eighteenth century setting. This was the "Meschianza" whose tinsel scenes and ludicrous happenings must have tempted the risibilities of even the most sedate inhabitants.

Washington and the Valley of the Delaware

All of these events are closely associated with the Valley of the Delaware, where as delegate, commander-in-chief, and President, George Washington spent most of his mature efforts from 1774 to 1797. It was here that as military leader he planned his famous "Quadrilateral" with its strong positions for offense and defense and for readily watching and curbing the activities of the enemy. Its "safe place" at its southern end was in the region including Germantown, Chestnut Hill, and Valley Forge; and it was within this Quadrilateral that his aggressive movements were mapped and carried out after his retreat across New Jersey in 1776. Though during many of the trying days of the Revolution his army was often small, it was never insignificant, for it always served as a nucleus for offensive and defensive activities; and his unquenchable faith in the justice and ultimate triumph of the cause it defended has made him the great American hero and given his soldiers and other supporters also a permanent place in the Temple of Fame.

The Friends and many of the German sects of the valley being opposed to war endeavored to remain neutral. But from their ranks came such patriot leaders as Owen Biddle, who had "wealth, learning, and position"; Clement Biddle and Timothy Matlack, colonels

Washington Monument, Valley Forge. Replica of the monument in the Capitol at Richmond, Virginia, the work of Houdon, from plaster casts, actual measurements, and an exact copy of the great hero's clothing. Hence a true likeness of Washington as he appeared at the age of fifty-three.



Stars and stripes. Designed and made by the patriotic women of Northampton County, Easton, Pennsylvania, and unfurled at the reading of the Declaration of Independence, July 8, 1776. This was nearly a year before Congress resolved "that the flag of the thirteen United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white, that the union be thirteen stars, white on a blue field, representing a new constellation."

in Washington's army; Christopher Marshall, whose interesting diary of events has been published; and such patriotic women as Lydia Darragh, who warned Washington of a threatened night attack, and Elizabeth Griscom who, as "Betsy Ross," made flags for the American army; as well as such sterling German patriots as Baron Steuben and the Muhlenbergs. While the Church of England people in general favored the king, with the exception of the notorious Joseph Galloway, the Allens, and the Duanes, few of them assumed open activity in his cause.

From the beginning of the struggle the activities of the Tories of the valley were held well in check by the patriots who, among the liberty-loving English, were known as "Whigs" rather than "rebels." In New England this patriot element was always pronouncedly aggressive. In New York, with the exception of the rural districts, the Tory element had the upper hand. In the South the Tories were led by Tarleton; the patriots gathered around Marion, Greene, and Morgan; and a condition of civil war prevailed until Morgan delivered a smashing blow to Tarleton's forces at the Battle of the Cowpens. When the British transferred the war to the South and their commander, Cornwallis, entrenched at Yorktown when he learned that the French had sent a fleet and army to the aid of the Americans, Washington speedily swung his troops to the South and with the combined forces captured Cornwallis' entire army.

Historic Ride of Colonel Tilghman

The capitulation occurred on October 19, 1781, and Washington at once dispatched one of his aides, Col.

Tench Tilghman, a Philadelphian, with the official notice to Congress of the surrender. The ride of this patriot from Yorktown to Philadelphia, a distance of over 400 miles in less than five days, deserves a high place in the annals of the Revolution. Arriving early on the morning of the twenty-fourth, he aroused the president of the Congress, Thomas McKean, and the joyful news soon started the bells ringing and set the entire city aglow. But the surrender of Cornwallis did not end the war, great as was the rejoicing all over the colonies. Washington knew that a second entire British army had been captured, but he did not know what further preparations and plans the British government might make. He accordingly returned with his army to the encampment at Morristown, where he could watch the British movements in New York. And now occurred one of the most trying periods of the war; for his army was without proper supplies and his troops greatly incensed at Congress for its failure to provide their meager pay.[1] Wars may be lost and the fruits of victory destroyed from lack of the funds necessary to keep an army efficient. And the financial condition of the government and the thirteen states it represented was lamentably weak.

Although under the title of "Articles of Confederation" a form of government had been adopted in 1777, it was but a mere union of the states, without power to enforce its laws or compel the states to meet the needs of the hour. Frequent issues of paper currency, all too easily counterfeited by the British, were made and

[1] This amounted to about twenty cents a day for a private. But conditions were worse for officers and officials in charge of important work, for they were afraid to enter contracts for fear of having to meet the obligations themselves.

loaned to the states in the hope that they would redeem them and thus make good the promises they contained. This the states failed to do and a financial crisis was imminent when Robert Morris, Philadelphia's most prominent business man, was put in charge as "Superintendent of Finance" of the Federation's money affairs. He at once established the Bank of North America, which opened January 1, 1782. Having been authorized to issue letters of credit he began to make loans from at home and abroad. By using his own private fortune and pledging his personal credit conditions were greatly improved; but the demands for money from both public and private sources were so great that Morris would have been overwhelmed had it not been for the timely help of Haym Salomon, a Polish Jew who had been imprisoned in New York for his connection with the Sons of Liberty there.

Haym Salomon

Escaping to Philadelphia, Salomon had through honest dealing and exceptional ability established a lucrative business as a financial and mercantile broker. In his first dealings with him as a broker negotiating foreign and domestic letters of credit, Morris in his "Diary" refers to him as "the Jew broker"; but he soon came to rely upon him to an extent that brought him into most of his dealings and he became "Mr. Haym Salomon" in the Diary. Salomon not only assisted the Federation to an extent that embarrassed him financially but he also made loans to private individuals, enough of which remained unpaid to leave his family in poverty at the time of his death in 1785. A recent writer has said of

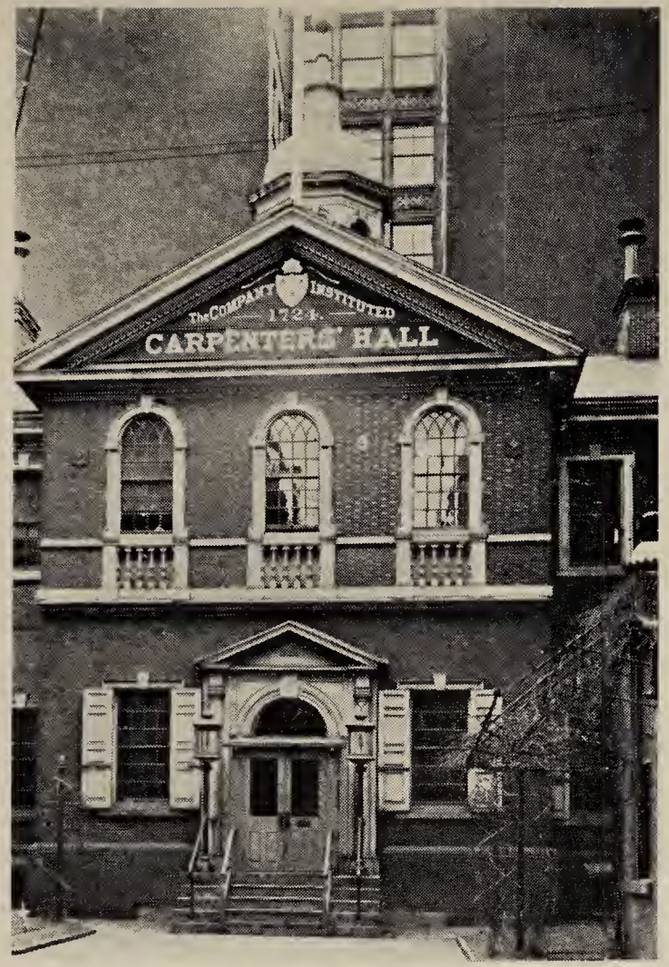
him and the Revolution to whose ultimate success he contributed so much:

> "The whole American Revolution seems now to the sober inquiring sense a thing incredible; but even that wild story has no chapter more startling than these years devoted by Haym Salomon to the cause of liberty in an alien land."[1]

Another conspicuous example of true patriotism was furnished by Gen. Joseph Reed, "President" of Pennsylvania during the Revolutionary period. When approached by a British emissary with liberal offers to betray his country, he replied: "I am a poor man, but such as I am the King of England is not rich enough to buy me." In marked contrast, Benedict Arnold, with all his brilliant military achievements and with his marriage to Philadelphia's richest and most popular belle, "Peggy" Shippen, revealed neither the staunchness of character of General Reed nor the true patriotism of Haym Salomon and has gone down in history as America's worst contribution to criminal betrayal of country. However, although Arnold, no doubt, planned his treason while in military command of Philadelphia, he never occupied "Mount Pleasant," the beautiful estate on the banks of the Schuylkill that he presented to Peggy Shippen as a prenuptial gift; hence the valley disowns him as a citizen.

The treaty of peace was signed at Paris September 3, 1783; but it has been well said that, though the Revolutionary War was thereby ended, the American Revolution was not. England was treating our government with contempt and not keeping her peace agreements; nor had we the necessary power to keep ours. The

[1] Russell's *Haym Salomon and the American Revolution.* Salomon was born and lived until young manhood in Poland.



Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia. Meeting place of First Continental Congress, September 4, 1774. Erected and occupied by the guild of carpenters.

From an old lithograph

"London Coffee House," which stood at the southwest corner of Front and Market Streets, Philadelphia. It was a popular news center and meeting place in Revolutionary days as well as a favorite place for public auctions. Note the slaves on the "auction block."

Congress of the Federation had some influence but no authority; and mere influence, as Washington indicated, is not government. The states were impoverished and the trade jealousies of the pre-war days were not entirely cured by the Revolution. Each state continued to act independently on so many matters that Washington was led to say: "We are one state today and thirteen states tomorrow." And for four or five years it looked as if America was drifting into anarchy. But fortunately there were a number of able men watching over the infant republic, leaders of the old type of statesmanship to whom the welfare of the country meant more than the ambitions of political parties and who would have scorned to become the servants of special interests or to make associates of greedy political bosses. Sincere democracy was not then found only in state papers and political speeches.

The Constitution

The sense of equality fostered by the pioneer life had also developed a feeling of political responsibility that began to manifest itself when the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation became so apparent after the war. As these weaknesses grew more and more evident, a convention of representatives of the states was called to revise the Articles of Confederation. They met in the same room of the State House in Philadelphia in which independence had been adopted, and after four months of deliberation offered, instead of this revision, the new Constitution which, when ratified by nine of the states, became the fundamental law of the land. George Washington was the presiding officer of the convention and the Constitution represents the best

thought of the best minds of the country at that time. The great English statesman, Gladstone, pronounced it "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." It not only provides the fundamental machinery for a strong central government—a real union instead of a mere federation—but also the means of amending it to meet the changes incident to growth and development and the exigencies arising in national life. This has enabled it to meet all of the tests of our life as a nation during the last century and a half and promises well for the future.

Philadelphia as Permanent Capital

George Washington was unanimously elected as the first President under the new Constitution, and met with an almost continuous ovation in his journey from his home at Mount Vernon to New York, the capital during the first year of his administration. His receptions at Gray's Ferry, when he entered Philadelphia, and at Trenton, when he crossed the Delaware into New Jersey, were especially brilliant ones. One of the questions to be decided in the new administration was the location of a permanent capital for the country. John Adams in a gossipy letter to his wife seems to have felt sure Philadelphia would be chosen. The two leaders, Hamilton and Jefferson, each wanted the capital for his own state. But Hamilton at the time was urging Congress to take over the debts of the states, contracted during the Revolution, as part of his financial rehabilitation scheme for the Federal government. To this the Southern congressmen were opposed, owing to the relatively light debts of their respective states.

Seeing the opportunity for a compromise, Hamilton persuaded Jefferson to give a dinner party for the Southerners, at which Hamilton presented his favorite project in regard to the state debts so forcibly that, in return for their support, it was agreed New York should remain the capital for one year and that then Philadelphia should be the capital for ten years pending the time when an entirely new location on the Potomac could be prepared. The Valley of the Delaware may therefore, at least partly, attribute its failure to secure the permanent capital to a compromise reached at a dinner party.

Washington's life as chief executive was a ceremonious one; for, although he had scorned a proposal to make him king, he could not entirely free himself from the ceremonial approach that he thought appropriate for the head of a great nation. For this he was bitterly attacked because of the Franco-mania which developed in Philadelphia as the result of the French Revolution and the schemes of "Citizen Gênet." This French ambassador to the United States was anxious to reëmbroil us with Great Britain and as an ally of France. So great was the sympathy with France that on one occasion a mob threatened to drag Washington from the Executive Mansion on High Street unless he agreed to proclaim war against France's hereditary enemy. This war did eventually occur, but not during Washington's time. With the irony of fate much of the trouble leading up to it occurred with France and during the time when Jefferson, who had taken an active part in developing the sentiment in favor of France (but not in the manifestations against Washington), was President.

War of 1812

With the exception of procrastination in regard to the payment of reparations for damages done to our shipping during the Napoleonic wars, France finally abated her disregard of our protests. But England continued a hostile attitude, especially in regard to her claimed right to stop our vessels to search for the deserters that the cruel discipline of many of the British naval commanders made common. These impressments of our seamen culminated in 1807 when the war vessel *Constitution* was fired on by the British frigate *Leopard* with the result that three of our sailors were killed and four others, three of whom were proved to be native Americans, were impressed into the British service. For permitting this outrage without resisting the demands of the *Constitution,* Capt. James Barron, a Philadelphian, was deprived of his command. There were other causes which finally led to a second war with England, which was declared in 1812 notwithstanding the open opposition of the New England states. This opposition finally threatened, at the "Hartford Convention," their withdrawal from the Union if the war were not stopped, because it was so ruinous to their commerce. The war was in reality a continuation of the Revolutionary struggle because of the unwillingness of Great Britain to give up entirely her hold upon such an important part of her former possessions. It was largely a naval struggle in which many of our officers and seamen distinguished themselves. The Valley of the Delaware furnished a goodly number of these officers: Capt. David Lawrence of Burlington, New Jersey, with his immortal words "Don't give up the ship"; Capt.

Isaac Hull who, although born in Connecticut, is buried in Laurel Hill Cemetery, Philadelphia; Commodore William Bainbridge, born in Princeton, New Jersey, and who died in Philadelphia in 1833; Commodore Thomas MacDonough, "the hero of Lake Champlain," who was a Delawarean; Commander James Biddle, a member of the patriotic Philadelphia Biddle family; and Stephen Decatur, the famous "Bayard of the Sea," who lies buried in the churchyard of St. Peter's, Philadelphia.[1] Capt. John Barry, who settled in Philadelphia in 1760 and rendered good service during the Revolution, died in 1803 before our second serious trouble with England reached its climax. He was made commodore in 1794 and is known as the "Father of the American Navy." His monument stands in Independence Square.

During the war American privateers were extremely active and captured over 1400 cargoes, representing a value of many million dollars. Most of the land battles were fought in Canada and were little to our credit, owing to our unpreparedness and the feeble way in which political differences hampered the war as at first carried on. However, with the wanton burning of the Capitol at Washington by a British force in August, 1814, and the menace of attacks on Baltimore and Philadelphia, a new spirit was injected into the war. The citizens of Philadelphia turned out *en masse* with pick and shovel to help build fortifications and almost as a body, regardless of creed or belief, armed for defense. Prior to this, Lewes, Delaware, had been bombarded, and many depredations committed on the Eastern

[1] Decatur's father commanded a privateer in the Revolution and was in business in Philadelphia. Stephen was born in Maryland and was killed in a duel with Capt. James Barron.

Shore of Maryland and the adjoining regions of Delaware by forces landed from the British ships of war.

Owing to the insistence of British merchants and manufacturers, who had suffered so severely from our privateers and the loss of our trade, a treaty of peace was signed at Ghent, December 24, 1814. Several results of the war were at once apparent: the struggle for independence, begun in 1776, was at the end of 1814 an assured fact; England could no longer boast of being mistress of the seas; and the spirit of the Indians, who under the instigation of British emissaries had committed great atrocities in the Ohio country, was broken. Gen. Anthony Wayne, of Chester County, Pennsylvania, had added to his Revolutionary fame by beginning the work of subduing the Indians in 1796—a work that was completed by Gen. William Henry Harrison of Ohio in 1811 and 1813.

The Tariff

A test of the ability of our industries to survive under the stress of competition occurred after the close of the War of 1812. European manufacturers, who during the war had accumulated great surpluses of goods, promptly dumped them on the American markets at prices with which our manufactories, many of which were still in their infancy, could not compete. This closed fully four fifths of the mills, threw thousands out of employment, and in the end brought on the severe panic of 1819. New England and the Middle States, where manufacturing had prospered during the war, suffered severely, and it was largely due to their pleas that our first "protective tariff" laws were passed in 1816. These laid heavy duties upon such imported

articles as were already produced in this country and for the distinct purpose of fostering our infant industries.

Before this period imposts and duties had been levied for purposes of revenue only, although the author of such sources of revenue, Alexander Hamilton, always emphasized the necessity of encouraging industry for national security as well as for a well-balanced national development. For national security as well as for national welfare, he said: "Every nation ought to endeavor to possess within itself all the essentials of national supply."[1] The arms, ammunition, and flour furnished the Continental Army during the Revolution by the mills, furnaces, and other plants of the Valley of the Delaware illustrates Hamilton's point in regard to the importance of manufactures for national defense. From the very beginning New England and the Middle States have stood for high tariffs to protect and foster their industries. In this stand Pennsylvania has always been regarded as a tariff stronghold. The enactment of wise tariff legislation in its bearing on the national welfare has almost from the beginning been handicapped by the way in which it has been used for political agitation. However, although originally so largely an economic question, it has within recent months, because of the world-wide depression, assumed an international political importance.

Currency and Finance

Two of the first steps of our government under the Constitution were taken to make provision for the liquidation of our debts and to provide a uniform and stable

[1] Oliver's *Alexander Hamilton, an Essay on American Union*, p. 231.

currency. For the first, a Treasury Department was organized and, as it seemed necessary, owing to the exigency of the times, that a bank for depositing and borrowing money should be established, a bill for chartering a United States bank for a period of fifteen years was passed by Congress in 1791. The bank was located in Philadelphia. It prospered and, no doubt, served a useful purpose, although Washington saw the danger of its eventually wielding too much power in the nation's financial affairs. Finally, in 1837, when the question of a third re-chartering of it arose, President Jackson vetoed the bill passed by Congress and the United States Bank had to close its doors. To provide a sound currency system, a United States Mint was opened in Philadelphia under the supervision of David Rittenhouse and began the coinage of silver in 1794. The first American gold coins were minted the following year. The decimal system was adopted as the basis of our currency at the suggestion of Thomas Jefferson; and efforts were made to do away with the use of all foreign coins, some of which, from almost every known country, were in circulation until well on in the nineteenth century. Spanish milled coins were to be seen as late as the Civil War.

Slavery

The kindly interest in the Indians manifested by the Quakers was also extended to Negroes, whom they never could regard as mere chattels to be bought and sold like cattle. The Friends in Germantown, under the leadership of Francis Daniel Pastorius, were the first persons to make a public protest against slavery. This was in 1688 and at a time when not only Negroes but

Indians and even whites were sold, or consigned to slavery. The protest they prepared and signed was against both the buying and the keeping of Negroes and was sent to the next Yearly Meeting of the Friends at Philadelphia. Although the meeting did not deem it wise to take a stand against slavery at that time, in 1696 they went on record against "bringing in any more Negroes." In 1712 William Southbee urged the Pennsylvania legislature to pass a law freeing all Negroes; but he only secured a resolution that "It is neither just or convenient to set them at liberty." However, the idea was working its way into the thoughts and sympathies of the public not only in America but also in Europe. Before the close of the Revolution the Quakers had all freed their slaves and many of them also felt it their duty to recompense them for past services. And before the end of the century several of the European nations were deeply agitated by the whole subject of slavery. In 1798 Doctor Rush wrote:

> "The opinions concerning the commerce and slavery of the Africans, which have nearly produced a revolution in their favor in some of the European governments, were transplanted from a sect of Christians in Pennsylvania."

An early obstacle to the freeing of slaves that is not generally recognized was the fact that owners in many parts of the country had to enter security before a court guaranteeing a sufficient sum to prevent their manumitted slaves from becoming a public charge. In parts of New Jersey this at one time amounted to £200 security and a sum of £20 yearly for maintenance. It is also interesting to note that prior to 1800, when the growing of cotton began to be so profitable, antislavery

sentiment was fully as strong in the South as in the North, where the slave trade proved attractive to many shipowners and merchants even in the Quaker city. Jefferson had prepared a clause prohibiting slavery for the Declaration of Independence; but it was stricken out, largely it is said through Northern opposition. Washington provided in his will for freeing his slaves; and Henry Clay is said to have hated slavery although he deemed emancipation a graver danger. By 1860 so valuable had slave labor become on the alluvial lands of the Mississippi valley that able-bodied slaves were selling at from $1400 to $2000, and any effort to free them was regarded as confiscation.

By that time the whole question had been made a political issue interpreted in the light of the doctrine of State Rights. This jealousy of the rights of the states had led to no less than eleven amendments to the Constitution within a few years after its adoption and, in 1832, to the defiance of South Carolina when it attempted to repudiate a tariff law passed by Congress. The divergent interests of the cotton and tobacco-growing South and the industrial North gradually had been leading them apart, and the activites of antislavery movements in the North had stirred up bitter resentment in the South as an invasion of their rights. The so-called "Underground Railroad," through which slaves were assisted in escaping from their masters, proved a fruitful source of embitterment. Lucretia Mott and her husband, a kindly Quaker couple living on the outskirts of Philadelphia, were deeply interested in one of these underground lines and unwittingly added to the feeling that soon was to flame out into war—an evil which their faith so greatly abhorred.

The Civil War

The conflagration started when Lincoln was elected President on a platform openly opposed to slavery as an institution, although he was grossly misjudged in the South as to his methods of abolishing it. Even the usually unprejudiced *London Punch* cartooned Lincoln as a devil, and Thackeray and Carlyle jeered at him. But today the Great Emancipator, who found it necessary to free the slaves as an act of war, is better understood and a statue of him faces the main portal of Westminster Abbey. During the bloody Civil War, which lasted for four long years, the Valley of the Delaware furnished thousands of her sons to fight for the preservation of the Union their forefathers at great sacrifice had helped to start on its way in 1776.

The Union League of Philadelphia gave the President strong moral support during the war, and the "Cooper Shop" and "Union Volunteer" refreshment saloons furnished food and shelter to the "Boys in Blue" on their way to Southern battlefields. The Union Volunteer Saloon and the hospitals of the valley also provided food, shelter, and nursing to thousands of the wounded from the war. In 1862 the Sanitary Fair which yielded nearly two million dollars for hospital and nurse service was held in Philadelphia. And at the front this hospital and nurse service was rendered regardless of whether the stricken soldier wore the Blue or the Gray. This "Brothers' War" it is hoped has settled for all time the question of whether the United States is a mere union of states or a well-integrated government of a thoroughly amalgamated people. The spirit manifested in the great World War seems to point clearly to the latter.

Chapter X

EDUCATION

There are many features of colonial education in Pennsylvania that were common to all the colonies. As these features in Pennsylvania had their earliest development in the Valley of the Delaware, a description of the schools of that part of the Keystone State will serve as a fair portrayal of school conditions in the colonies in general. However, there were some fundamental differences which should be kept in mind—edution in New England was made a governmental matter; in New York, a subsidiary of the Reformed Church; in Pennsylvania, almost wholly a matter of charity; and in the South it was left to the discretion and expense of parents themselves. Although Pennsylvania cannot claim to have been a pioneer in the establishment of public schools, education was far from being neglected there, even from its earliest settlements, and in some respects the province played a leading part. This was also true of New Jersey and Delaware. As might be expected, the high character of many of their early immigrants and the various countries from which they came produced a combination of influences that fostered an interest in education, and quite early gave both breadth and strength of curriculum to most of the schools that were established in the Valley of the Delaware. A glance at European conditions that influenced early American education should make this clear.

The expulsion of the Jews from Spain, where the Moors had developed mathematical and scientific education of an advanced type, was not an unmixed evil from the standpoint of education; for it scattered alert appreciators of the value of advanced knowledge to all the more progressive countries of Europe. As early as 1540, Guicciardini wrote that even the peasants of Holland were able to read and write, and the maintenance of schools was being encouraged by the government. John of Nassau, in particular, saw the fruitfulness of a wise state-administered system of universal education and urged the establishment of schools where the fees would be so low that educational opportunities would be open to the poor as well as the rich.[1] Holland's interest in education arose partly from the revelations accompanying its international trade contacts, but even more largely from the influence of its guilds which embraced many of the common people who had risen to power through the country's highly developed industries.[2] This was also true in Sweden, where the interest in the education of the masses was such that, before the end of the sixteenth century, it was difficult to find a young person who had not the elements of an education.[3]

Luther in Germany and Calvin in Switzerland advocated an education for everybody, if for no other reason than the necessity of being able to read the Scriptures. And Calvin was influential among French Protestants, many of whom imbibed their lessons in industry from Holland and their interest in science from the University of Paris, an institution which owed much

[1] Cf. Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic.*
[2] Fiske's *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, I, p. 17.
[3] Schmidt's *Geschichte der Erziehung.*

to Granada and Barcelona. Nor is the work of John Knox to be ignored; for, influenced by the teachings of John Huss, the Moravian, and inspired by the example of Martin Luther, the German, he carried the Reformation into Scotland and laid the foundations for the Presbyterian kirk, which became a power in education as well as in religion. Many of the early schoolmasters of Pennsylvania and New Jersey got their taste for imparting knowledge from within the walls of Edinburgh and Glasgow. In England there were excellent schools for the nobility and the well-to-do, dating back to the early days of the monarchy; and, as many of the early colonists had been people of position and comfort in England, they brought their interest in education with them.

Motley claimed that the New England colonies owed their educational impulses more to Holland than to England, no doubt because of the sojourn of the "Pilgrims" in that country. Penn and several of his Quaker contemporaries unquestionably were influenced by the Dutch ideas of advanced education, and in this respect had developed beyond most of their English brethren, who, for many years, could not see the advantages of advanced education for the masses. Bancroft[1] attributed our common school system to the work of Calvin in Geneva, and adds it was introduced by Knox into Scotland and thereby became the property of the English-speaking nations. But so far as the Province of Pennsylvania was concerned it was the product of a combination of all of the foregoing influences. Especially was this true of the Valley of the Delaware, where various nationalities contributed to

[1] *History of the United States*, I, p. 266.

the final result and, in later days, joined hands with the New England schoolmaster in spreading its influences towards the West and the Southwest. Much as Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware owed to the New England schoolmasters and school systems, this was at a later date, New England's early educational ideals being too fully the creatures of theocratic forms of government to be acceptable in these more democratic provinces.

But, while there was excellence in places and advanced ideas in individual cases, we must not overrate the standing of education in general in the colonies. Even Harvard, founded in 1636, suffers at the hands of James Truslow Adams, though he claims that for nearly sixty years it remained the only institution above an ordinary school in the colonies. He says it (Harvard)

> "was pitiably unimportant in the training it afforded and the scholarship it produced as compared with the universities of New Spain."[1]

Another study of education in Massachusetts prior to 1800 led Adams to say:

> "the children were neither taught much nor were they taught well, for through life the most of them could do little more in the way of writing than scrawl their names."

But what was more serious, in many places remote from the centers of population, there were no schools of any sort. As a result inability even to read prevailed in many a home in Massachusetts.

Although these statements seem somewhat too severe to apply to the Valley of the Delaware, where the building of a church usually meant the opening of a school, it was too true in case of most of the schools; for the

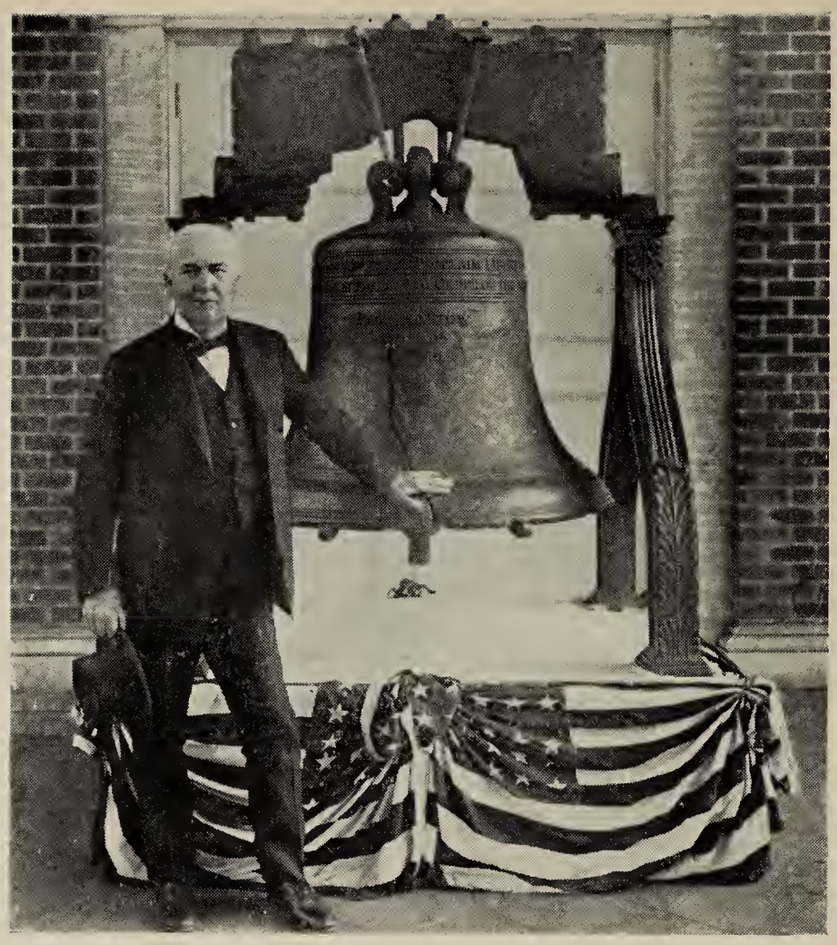
[1] Cf. *Epic of America* by James Truslow Adams, p. 43.

building and equipment were crude, books and supplies extremely primitive and meager, the work haphazard, and the discipline harsh. In addition to this, the teachers were often ignorant and usually entirely untrained for the work and, in too many cases, they were drunken and immoral—often mere adventurers who had been driven out of their native country. As there were no schools for training teachers, the highest standard of qualification that could be demanded was a diploma from any institution of learning, or evidence of successful experience elsewhere. From these the standard ran all the way down to anyone who could be secured to "keep school" for the required period. Salaries were low and could not compete with the inducements offered by so many other lines of occupation in the rapidly developing country. Even when good teaching was done, it was often by those who only temporarily followed the work while preparing for some other more desired occupation.

A growing lack of teachers at that period only increased the difficulty of securing them and, naturally, served to lower the standards of qualification that could be demanded. Advertisements for teachers similar to the following frequently appeared in the newspapers of the period:

> "Any schoolmaster or mistress that shall come well recommended to be of a sober behavior, and can spell well, and write a good common hand, may find encouragement for keeping of a school by applying to William Foster, near Mount Holly in West Jersey." (*The Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 2, 1749.)

Occasionally, extreme measures were resorted to, similar to those described by Rev. George Ross who,



The Liberty Bell as it is enshrined in Independence Hall, Philadelphia. The great inventor, Thomas A. Edison, has his hand on this sacred relic.

Zion Church, Allentown, Pennsylvania, in which the Liberty Bell was concealed when it became evident that the British would capture Philadelphia. Replaced by present structure bearing a tablet commemorating these facts.

writing in 1767 about educational conditions in northern Delaware, said:

> "When a ship arrives in the River it is a common expression with those who stand in need of an Instructor for their children, *Let us go and buy a schoolmaster.*"[1]

He was referring, of course, to the practice of "buying" the services of redemptioners for a specified period as a means of paying their passage money. And if, happily, they secured a good schoolmaster, there might have been advantages in the method; for the period for which they sold their services was usually five years. But such schoolmasters, like other indentured servants, sometimes had the bad habit of running away when conditions were not to their liking. And like other "runaways" they were then advertised for.

A description of the dress of William Fetherson, a schoolmaster of this type who ran away from his school in Maryland and who was supposed to have come to Philadelphia, may be interesting to our modern pedagogues, as it indicates how at least one teacher of that period (1768–69) was dressed:

> "He had on an old blue broadcloth coat and vest with yellow buttons, leather [knee] breeches, half worn, with several patches above the knees, a white sheeting linen shirt, and an old black silk handkerchief round his neck, yarn stockings, stout leather shoes, a half worn castor hat, and a great coat scorched on the left side, with a slit on the right foreskirt."[2]

The dearth of schools and the generally poor condition of those that had been established, even as late as

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[1] Perry's *History Collections of American Colony Churches*, V, p. 47.
[2] Scharf & Westcott's, *History of Philadelphia*, Vol. I, p. 884.

1828, is well indicated in the findings of a commission appointed at a Trenton meeting of the New Jersey friends of education in November of that year. After receiving reports from the various counties of the state, they reported: Nearly 12,000 children between the ages of five and sixteen entirely destitute of instruction; that in one county half the townships had no schools; and, that where schools did exist

> "every schoolmaster (speaking generally) is left to pursue his own course of instruction, without responsibility, amenable to no tribunal, and subject to no inspection or supervision."[1]

An agent of the American Bible Society reported at this meeting that he had recently visited in one county eighteen families in which none could read, twenty in which neither of the parents could read, and fifty-five in which only one of the parents could read. "Upon this appalling picture," they said, "the commission feel they need make no remark."[2] Equally deplorable conditions existed in most of the colonies.

There were, however, oases in this desert of ignorance. These were due to the work of the churches, and to the efforts here and there of men who, having received a liberal education themselves, felt impelled to plant the good seed in the lives of others. The general policy of the Swedish and Dutch governments in the early days was to foster education. But, as their authority was supplanted by English rule in 1664, their influence would have been entirely lost had it not been taken up by religion and charity and the work of certain indi-

[1] Murray's *History of Education in New Jersey*.
[2] *Ibid.*

viduals who were interested in education. That these efforts were expressed at first in pay schools with a more or less liberal curriculum for those who could pay, and in charity schools with only a very limited program for those who could not pay, is no just criticism of a time when no other type of schooling was known. It took many years for the idea of affording, as a birthright inheritance, full opportunity for all to know and to develop up to their respective capacities, in a land that drew its inhabitants from the class-divisioned monarchies of the Old World. But the germs had been planted and, in a creditable number of places, the school and the library grew up side by side and served both as an opportunity and a stimulant to all within reach of their influence.

To appreciate the conditions that both the school and the church had at first to face in all of the colonies, it is necessary to keep in mind: the fight for mere existence that had to be waged in the heavily wooded wilderness, a struggle that called for almost continuous effort on the part of young and old; that most of the regions were but sparsely settled and that the distances that intervened between the settlements made community effort difficult; and that few of the settlers had books or the home comforts that would foster their use if they had them. As comforts increased and the assurances of support multiplied, conditions for spiritual growth were improved. But the Valley of the Delaware had an exceptionally heterogeneous and, at first, unamalgamated population. While the schools of each nationality undoubtedly had a stimulating effect upon all the others, favorable conditions for the development of a general school system had to await

the disappearance of antagonistic racial and denominational lines. Wickersham says:[1]

> "The early population of Pennsylvania was heterogeneous to an extent unknown in any other colony.[2] There were the descendants of the early Swedish and Dutch settlers on the Delaware; English, Scotch, Welsh and Irish, no better assimilated here than at home; Germans in great numbers and with widely different political and religious opinions; and a sprinkling of restless spirits from many other countries—the best possible material of which to build a great State, but subject first to a trying but inevitable social and political ferment."

Nor did the inhabitants receive any governmental assistance in their educational efforts during the English period of colonial control. The proprietors, governors, and assemblies that succeeded Penn, up to the time of the Revolution took little or no interest in public education—

> "The first three quarters of the eighteenth century are almost a perfect blank so far as anything was done by the public authorities to provide an education for the people."[3]

They did grant a number of religious bodies and private associations permission to purchase lands and erect buildings for establishing schools, granting in some cases charters for the same; but, in general, their attitude toward public education was indifferent and discouraging rather than helpful. This was partly due to the clashing interests and warring factions prevailing in the provincial government, and partly to the fact that the churches and charities in Pennsylvania had

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[1] Wickersham's *History of Education in Pennsylvania*, p. 55.
[2] And this was true also of West New Jersey and the "Three lower counties on the Delaware."
[3] *Ibid.*

assumed the task of educating the people. While the charities placed the stigma of poverty on much that was done, they fostered an interest in education and laid helpful foundations for meeting the opportunities and demands of the new government which the success of the Revolution started on its way.

Although most of the work in these early schools was of a very elementary character, there was by this time a growing demand for higher education; and, in course of time, almost every local community of any size had its "academy" in which there was at least an attempt at classical instruction. Some of these institutions were established and maintained by the churches, and a few of them proved to be the foundations for colleges; but most of them were private enterprises that had a more or less ephemeral existence. Quite an impetus was given to these private institutions in Pennsylvania by a law passed in 1838, which afforded them financial assistance.[1] This act is especially to be noted because of the recognition given by the state, for the first time, to the higher education of women; for it gave financial assistance to the female seminaries as well as to the academies for boys.

> "But the scheme of education by means of Academies—creditable as it was to our Fathers, did not prove successful. It was ill-adapted to the condition of society in the new State, and entirely inadequate to the great end in view."[2]

Its weakness lay in the fact that these schools were not properly integrated with an adequate primary education on which to build the higher structure. Hence,

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[1] For a list of these see Wickersham's *History of Education in Pennsylvania*, p. 387.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 382.

only a few of them have survived, and those that have are now, almost without exception, well-established boarding schools. There will probably always be a place for these, owing to the vicissitudes of the home and to the belief on the part of some parents that the regular routine and intelligent supervision of such schools is more beneficial, especially during the period of youth, than is the combined influence and care of the home and the day school.

Swedish and Dutch Schools on the Delaware

The first schools among the Swedes were conducted on the plans of education followed in Sweden, where the church, which was a state institution, controlled the schools. The duties of minister and schoolmaster were often combined, or, where they were not, the schoolmaster served the church in some capacity either as assistant to the minister or as sexton and bell ringer. Sometimes all of these duties were performed by the same person. And this was true also of the schools established by the Dutch, and in many of the schools maintained by the churches. The school was often held in the church building; and, on the other hand, for many years the schoolhouse in sparsely settled regions usually afforded the only public place for religious meetings. Wickersham says:

> "The churches no doubt served the place of schoolhouses in the early days, and the clergymen, so far as they were able, filled the double office of preacher and teacher. Two hundred years ago churches and schools were generally under one control in Sweden, Holland, and other European countries, and the schoolmaster nearly always the minister's assistant, reading for him, leading the singing, visiting the sick, and in his absence taking his place at the sacred desk.

These customs were brought to America. . . . The regular clergyman taught the children of their congregations to read, or saw that it was done, if for no other reason than to enable them to receive the required instruction in the catechism."

The attitude of the Swedish government toward education is clearly indicated in the charter that came into the possession of Henry Hockhammer and Company in 1640, and which gave them the privilege of forming a sort of patroon settlement below Fort Christina, the land of which was to remain hereditary in their families but under Swedish rule—

"The patrons of this colony shall be obliged to support at all times as many ministers and schoolmasters as the number of inhabitants shall seem to require."[1]

The Swedish queen was also anxious to have the Indians converted and desired that the persons chosen as ministers should regard this as part of their duty. This was why the Rev. John Campanius, who came to Tinicum with Governor Printz, took a great interest in the education and conversion of the Indians, learned their language, and translated the Luther Catechism into it. It also led Clay in his *Annals* to claim that Campanius rather than John Eliot was entitled to be called "The morning star of missionary enterprise."

The Dutch had no settlements of any size on the Delaware until 1651. In 1656 the city of Amsterdam, in order to encourage settlement within its territory on the Delaware, offered to "send thither a proper person for schoolmaster, who shall also read the Holy Scriptures and set the Psalms." They also agreed to pay his salary "provisionally and until further oppor-

[1] Smith's *History of Delaware County*, p. 26.

tunity."[1] For New Amstel (New Castle) they specifically provided that there should

> "be erected about the market, or in a more convenient place, a public building suitable for divine service: item, also a house for a school, which can likewise be occupied by a person who will hereafter be sexton, psalm-setter, and schoolmaster."[2]

The first Dutch schoolmaster on the Delaware of whom we have any record was Evert Pietersen who came to New Amstel with a body of Dutch settlers in 1656. He accompanied them as schoolmaster and "to read God's word and lead in singing" until a clergyman should arrive.[3] Pietersen seems to have left New Amstel before 1660 and to have been succeeded by Arent Eversen Moleneer, if we may rely on a payment to him in 1660 of 150 florins for services similar to those rendered by Pietersen. The last schoolmaster at New Amstel that is named by the Dutch records was Abelius Zetscoven, or Selskoorn as Hazard calls him. He must have attained some fame as a teacher for the people of Tinicum tried in vain, in 1663, to secure his services. These Dutch schoolmasters must have been busy men. One of them on Long Island, in addition to his work as teacher, sent out funeral notices, dug the graves, tolled the bell, and performed other duties in connection with the church services. For his services as teacher he received, "for teaching in a speller or reader three guldens a quarter, and for writing four guldens." As the gulden (florin or guilder) was a silver coin then worth about forty cents, this affords an idea of educational pay in the early days.

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[1] *Pennsylvania Archives, 2nd Series*, V, p. 267.
[2] *New York Colonial Documents*, I, p. 620.
[3] Brodhead's *History of New York*, I, p. 631.

Early English Schools on the Delaware

The Duke of York had made provision in his laws for the instruction of children and *servants* "in matters of Religion and the Lawes of the country"; the purpose evidently being to secure obedience to law rather than the benefits of general learning. But Penn, in his Frame of Government went beyond this and provided:

> "That the Governor and Provincial Council shall erect and order all publick schools" and that "a committee of manners, education and arts" be established so "that youths may be successfully trained up in virtue and useful knowledge and arts."

And, among the laws agreed upon, before leaving England, by Penn and those who had purchased land from him, it was provided:

> "That all children within this Province of the age of twelve years shall be taught some useful trade or skill, so that none may be idle, but the poor may work to live, and the rich, if they become poor, may not want."

The first Assembly after the arrival of Penn, and which met in Chester December 4, 1682, accepted these provisions and embodied them in the "Great Law" that had been evolved. They, however, added the Duke of York's idea that the laws should be "one of the Books taught in the schools of this Province and territorys thereof." This seems to leave no doubt that it was their purpose to establish at once public schools—schools for all children. The Second Assembly, which convened in Philadelphia the following March, ordered the governor and Provincial Council "to erect and order all public schools," and provided overseers to care for their management for the "good education of

youth." They also enacted that parents and all persons having charge of children should have them instructed in reading and writing before they were twelve years of age, or pay a fine of five pounds for neglecting "every sound child." Lyman P. Powell in his "*History of Education in Delaware* says these acts were repealed during the reign of William and Mary but were reënacted and there is no evidence of another repeal, although the law does not seem to have been enforced.

This legislation was preceded at a session of the Assembly for West Jersey, held in September, 1682, where it was enacted:

> "for the better education of youth, the island called Matinicunk Island is hereby given, and shall from henceforth forever hereafter be and remain to and for the use of the town of Burlington—for the maintaining of a school for the education of youth within the said town and in the first and second tenths."

This was one of the first, if not the first, attempts to establish a permanent school fund made in the colonies,[1] and was followed by a grant made by Penn in 1704 to the town of New Castle of what is now known as the "Commons Farms."

The minutes of the Provincial Council for December, 1683, record the first attempts to establish a school in Philadelphia—

> "The Govr and Provll Council having taken into their Serious consideration the great necessity there is of a School Master for ye Instruction & Sober Education of Youth in the towne of Phila. Sent for Enock flower, an inhabitant of the said Towne, who for twenty Year past hath been Exercised in that care and Implymt in Eng. to whom having communicated their Minds, he embraced it upon the follow-

[1] Boone's *Education in the United States*, p. 57.

ing Terms: to Learn to read English 4s by the quarter; to Learn to read and write 6s by ye quarter; to learn to read, write and Cast acco^{t} 8s by ye Quarter; for Boarding a Scoller, that is to say, dyet, Washing, Lodging, & Scooling, Tenn pounds for one whole year."

This, no doubt, was only the recording of what had already taken place; for, according to Proud,[1] the school was opened in October, 1683, in a dwelling built of pine and cedar planks.

The "William Penn Charter School," which has had such a long and notable career, was started on its way a few years later (1689) and probably had its beginning as the "public grammar school" advocated by Penn in a letter to Thomas Lloyd. It was incorporated 1697 and received several revised charters from Penn, who manifested great interest in it. Its charter provided that all children and servants should be

"Instructed: the rich at reasonable rates, and the poor to be maintained & schooled for nothing."

George Keith was the first "master," receiving for his services fifty pounds per year. The school was probably held in the house in which he lived rent free. He had as his "usher" (assistant) Thomas Meakins (or Makin) who had kept a

"ffree school in the towne of Philadelphia" as early as 1693, having been given a "Licence" to teach by the Provincial Council upon his procuring "a certificate of his abilitie, Learning & diligence, from the inhabitants of note in this towne."

This first state-certificated teacher in the colonies became very poor and, when quite an old man, was drowned in an effort to draw a bucket of water from the Delaware.

[1] See Proud's *History of Pennsylvania*, I, p. 345.

Several other leading Friends besides William Penn took an advanced stand on the subject of education. Thomas Budd, whose book[1] on Pennsylvania and New Jersey was published in 1685, advocated:

> "Now it might be well if a law was made by the Governors and General Assemblies of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, that all persons inhabiting in said Provinces, do put their children seven years at the public school, or longer, if the parents please. That schools be provided in all towns and cities, and persons of known honesty, skill and understanding be yearly chosen—to teach and instruct boys and girls in all the most useful arts and sciences that they in their youthful capacity may be capable to understand."

He also believed the children of the Indians should be educated.

Although the Friends in general were careful to see that their children were not neglected in regard to "the three R's" and the things that fitted them for industry and the household arts, they were late as a body in grasping the importance of the higher education. While their leaders were people of a high moral tone, they emphasized the spiritual insight accompanying the "Inner Light" as above that afforded by learning. George Fox himself had but scant learning and maintained that "God stood in no need of human learning," although as early as 1667 he urged his followers to establish schools

> "so that young men of genius *in low circumstances* may be furnished with means to procure *requisite education.*"

By requisite education he no doubt meant what in general was advocated by the early Quaker leaders; namely, an education that would prevent idleness, and

[1] *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey,* London, 1685.

lead to self-support and a godly life. According to their views an educated ministry was not needed for an interpretation of the Scriptures, and a classical education merely opened the way for the reading of pernicious books and the undermining influences of worldliness in general.

Haverford College

Early in the nineteenth century, however, the sentiment in favor of higher education that had led to the establishment of academies and colleges began to sway the minds of influential Friends in its favor and, finally, led to the founding of Haverford and Swarthmore colleges, the former by the Orthodox Friends, the latter by the Hicksites—a division in the Quaker faith having occurred in 1827. Haverford College was the direct result of the work of the "Haverford School Association" which, in 1833, established the "Haverford School," the course of study of which was fully the equal of that of any of the near-by colleges of that day. But the name college at first seemed to the trustees to savor of mere pretentiousness and it was not until 1856, when the school was incorporated, that the name was changed from School to College.

Daniel B. Smith, a public-spirited citizen of Philadelphia, was one of the prime movers in the establishment of the school and also became an important member of its faculty. But the college grew only slowly, never having over eighty or ninety students, with many times scarcely fifty. However, under the energetic leadership of Isaac Sharpless, who was its president from 1887 to 1917, its buildings and equipment were greatly improved, its curriculum and faculty placed on

a high plane, and its president's ambition of making Haverford great among the smaller colleges of the country realized. In 1899 he had said:

> "If we could place and keep at the head of the imoprtant departments of Haverford men who are the peers of the best scholars of the world, and are, at the same time, men of the moral type we have striven for in the past, the future of our college as an institution of high grade and a good reputation will be assured. Haverford could then be a great small college."[1]

And this he lived to accomplish.

Swarthmore College

The Hicksite branch did not succeed in establishing their institution until 1869. Before that time an exceptionally fine site had been secured at what is now Swarthmore and a massive stone building erected. In order to honor the founder of the Quaker faith the college was named "Swarthmore," the name of Fox's home in England. In recognition of the doctrine of equality believed in by the Friends, the college was at once opened to both sexes. In 1881, just after the opening of the fall session, the main building was destroyed by fire. But it was replaced by an even more commodious building and the entire equipment has since then been greatly enriched by improvements and additional buildings. One of the leaders in educational progress in Pennsylvania, Joseph Swayne, was for many years its distinguished president.

Edward Parrish indicated quite clearly at the founding of Swarthmore College the weakness of the attitude

[1] See *Story of a Small College* by Isaac Sharpless, p. 196.

of Quakers who were not friendly toward higher education. He said:

> "The history of the Society shows that there have always been some among the members who in their opposition to an educated class, such as the clergy in other denominations, have ceased to value learning properly as the right of all, failing to see that the absence of a distinct profession, embodying the learning of the Society, and monopolizing the power which learning brings, should constitute a strong motive for the general diffusion of knowledge and the multiplication of facilities for imparting it."

The impulses that led to free schools in Pennsylvania were largely philanthropic; for the churches and charitable organizations had quite early assumed the burden of educating the people. This accounts in large measure for the relatively late period when public schools were established by state decree. There were, however, far-seeing persons who, by the middle of the eighteenth century, were beginning to realize that it was not the province of education to extend the influence of creeds or to restrict its benefits to those who were able to pay. Benjamin Franklin, in his advocacy of schools, libraries, and scientific research, was a prince of progress in these respects. There were others, however, who shared in his broad-minded ideas, although they lacked his means as editor and publisher for broadcasting their views. Several of these men conceived the idea of establishing a school that would be free from denominationalism and which would meet the needs of both boys and girls who lacked the means for entering the pay schools of the day. A building for the purpose was in 1740 erected on Fourth Street near Arch, in Philadelphia, from funds raised partly on the plea that it would also

provide a place where the great preacher, George Whitefield, and others could hold services while in the city.

This movement is interesting because it served as the center from which sprang the University of Pennsylvania, unique in its inception among colonial colleges because it grew out of a charitable rather than a denominational impulse. The first funds for the establishment and support of the charity school were given "by several benevolent individuals, and particularly by John Keble."[1] Caspar Wistar, a contemporary, claimed that Phineas Bond in conjunction with Thomas Hopkinson originated the idea of establishing an "Academy" which later occupied the same building; although Franklin widespread a pamphlet entitled "Proposals Relative to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania," published in 1749, which undoubtedly did much to popularize their movement. The Academy probably opened on "Second Street in 1749, although in July, 1751, it was established in the same building with the charity school on Fourth Street, both being placed under one management and incorporated by the Proprietary under the title of "The Trustees of the Academy and Charitable School in the Province of Pennsylvania."

The University of Pennsylvania

Owing to an accumulation of debts, the Fourth Street building had been transferred to James Logan and others as trustees, with the provision that the charity school should be maintained, but granting them in the recital of the deed full power

> "to found, erect, establish, and continue in and upon the said house and premises such other school, academy, or other

[1] Cf. Meredith's "*A Journal of Law*," published 1831.

Hexagonal schoolhouse on Chadd's Ford battle ground. Hexagonal and octagonal buildings were in favor in the early days. The wooden structure is a late addition.

From an old painting

Two-story octagonal schoolhouse. An unusual type in early Philadelphia County. The two outside water closets for the use of the pupils are shown.

seminary of learning for instructing youth in the languages, arts, and sciences, and generally to improve the premises to such other use or uses for the benefit of mankind and the good of society as to them—shall seem fit."

Two things are noticeable in this recital: (1) The suggested breadth of the curriculum of the institution; (2) The charitable background of the movement, the spirit of which has ever since been maintained by the University in the number of its free scholarships.[1] The Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker claimed that there is warrant for regarding the opening of the Charity School in 1740 as the date of the founding of the University;[2] but Scharf and Westcott state (Vol. II, 1473) that the Academy advocated by Franklin and others opened in "Allen's private house in Second Street" and did not remove to the Fourth Street location until 1751. The breadth of the Academy's curriculum was increased when the Rev. Dr. William Smith took charge of the institution in 1754 and in 1756 gave it a plan of education that raised it officially to the dignity of a college. This curriculum was pronounced "more comprehensive than any other then in existence in the American colonies," making it "by far the best school of learning throughout America."[3]

But Doctor Smith was a churchman and so disliked the Quakers that in 1757 he wrote an attack on the Assembly that led to his confinement in jail for several months, his classes in the meantime loyally reporting to him there for their recitations. Upon his release he went to England where he was received with marked

[1] These have for some years been freed from their charitable aspect and regarded as a reward for high scholarship.

[2] Cf. The two chapters on the University of Pennsylvania in *Pennsylvania in American History* by Samuel W. Pennypacker.

[3] Rev. Doctor Burnaby's *Travels Through North America*, p. 66.

respect and succeeded in raising a large sum for the support of the "College of Philadelphia," as it was called in its charter. Because of this friendship for the Penns and his loyalty to the king during the Revolution Doctor Smith and his faculty were denounced and deprived of their positions. The charter of the institution was then declared void and the property seized by the state. As this was shown to be an unwarranted confiscation, these rights were restored, but the state, in 1779, appointed a new set of trustees under the title of "The Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania." The "University" was granted direct financial assistance and the provision was also made that the returns from all confiscated estates should be used for its endowment. This was Pennsylvania's first financial contribution to the cause of advanced education.

The newly chartered University started its work in "Philosophical Hall" (the rooms of the American Philosophical Society) on Fifth Street, while the College of Philadelphia resumed work in its building on Fourth Street. But both institutions languished and in 1781 were brought together in the building in which they had grown from an academy into a university. In 1765 a school of medicine, in charge of Dr. John Morgan, was opened in connection with the college course; and in 1790 James Wilson was elected "Professor of Law" in the University. In each of these subjects Philadelphia was a pioneer in the United States. In 1807 the state granted the University $3000 with which to establish a botanical garden

> "for the improvement of the science of botany and for instituting a series of experiments to ascertain the cheapest and best food for plants and their medicinal properties and virtues."

In this Pennsylvania was a forerunner of the many American experimental stations and research bureaus established along similar lines.

Princeton University

Tribute is due the learned men among the Scotch and Scotch-Irish settlers in the Valley of the Delaware for their advanced ideas in regard to education. They had inherited their love of learning from the days of the Reformation. Their *Book of Discipline* published in 1561, declared:

> "That it was Imperatively necessary that there should be a school in every parrish for the instruction of youth in the principles of religion, grammar and the Latin tongue—and it was further proposed that a college should be erected in every notable town, in which logic and rhetoric should be taught, along with the learned languages."

Little wonder then that so many of the early American pedagogues were Scotchmen, nor that in the contests in the legislatures they were the fearless friends of the schools. Many of them were also ministers and thus were doubly influential in public affairs. One of the most noted of these men was the Rev. William Tennent, who emigrated from the north of Ireland in 1721 and founded the famous "Log College," located on the Neshaminy about twenty miles from Philadelphia, and which was the forerunner of the university at Princeton.

A strong Presbyterian element existed at that time not only in central New Jersey but also in the region extending from Easton through central Pennsylvania to Harris' Ferry on the Susquehanna. With the rapid increase of this Presbyterian population came an in-

creased demand for ministers. To help meet this need the Rev. Mr. Tennent secured a tract from his cousin, James Logan, and erected his college building which Whitefield, who visited it, described in his journal as

> "a log house, about 20 feet long, and near as many broad. . . . From this despised place seven or eight ministers of Jesus have lately been sent forth, more are almost ready to be sent, and a foundation is now being laid for the instruction of many more."

The success of Tennent's work led the synod of the Presbyterian Church to take action, in 1739, toward the establishment of a seminary of learning and theology on a larger scale. A number of settlers from New England, who had located in central New Jersey and who were similarly minded in regard to an educated ministry, joined heartily in the movement. It was not until 1747, however, that the trustees appointed for the purpose were able to announce that the institution would open in Elizabethtown (Elizabeth, New Jersey) as the "College of New Jersey" and in charge of the Rev. Jonathan Dickinson. The college opened with only eight students and, owing to Dickinson's death soon afterwards, the work was temporarily discontinued. The institution was then removed to Newark where it prospered under the presidency of the Rev. Aaron Burr, father of the man who became Vice President of the United States. But a more central point was insisted upon by the great number of Presbyterians living to the west of Newark and, finally, Princeton, then "a very small and inconsiderable village," was chosen, although the site of the Log College was at one time seriously considered. Upon the completion of "Nassau Hall," the main college building at Princeton, the in-

stitution was removed to that place in 1757. The next year President Burr died and was succeeded by the Rev. Jonathan Edwards. He in turn was succeeded by the Rev. Dr. John Witherspoon, a descendant through his mother's family of John Knox. Doctor Witherspoon served during the troublous days of the Revolution.

Dr. James McCosh, whose name reveals his Scotch ancestry, became president in 1868 and probably did more than any other person toward preparing the college to become a true university. This was accomplished in 1897, and the announcement was made at the 150th anniversary of the founding of the institution that the "College of New Jersey" had become "Princeton University." It is interesting to note that when, in 1783, the American soldiers stationed in Lancaster and Philadelphia mutinied and a number of them surrounded the State House, Congress, then in session, adjourned to Princeton as the temporary capital of the country. For several months Congress held its meetings in the library room of Nassau Hall; and, as the annual commencement of the college occurred during this period, Ashbel Green, in his account of the exercises, says:

> "We had on the stage with the trustees and graduating class the whole of the Congress, the ministers of France and Holland, and George Washington, the commander-in-chief of the American army."

For many years ministers for the American Presbyterian churches received their theological training in "Old Nassau." As for the Log College itself, not only Princeton but several other American colleges owe much of the inspiration of their beginnings to the impulses received within its primitive walls.[1]

[1] Cf. Rev. Dr. Matthew Brown's *Alexander's Log College*, p. 84.

Chapter XI

EDUCATION (Continued)

The German Settlers and Education

In addition to the educational work and influence of the Moravians at Bethlehem and Nazareth, the Seventh-day Baptists at Ephrata, and such other sectarians as the Mennonites in Germantown and on the Skippack, the interest of the early German settlers in education is revealed in the lives of leaders like Pastorius, Christopher Saur, the Rev. Michael Schlatter, and the Muhlenbergs. That they also had teachers with progressive ideas is shown in the work of men like Christopher Dock and Joseph Neef. As editors and publishers the Saur family of Germantown exercised a widespread influence among German settlers throughout the colonies. It is probably no exaggeration to say that their almanacs and weekly paper (*Der Germantauner Zeitung*) were pondered over in families possessing no other reading matter, unless it might have been one of the many editions of the ponderous Saur Bible.

Saur's *Almanac* for 1758 contains an article on education that was probably written by the editor himself, Christopher Saur the second. Its title is "Some Useful Remarks on the Education of the Youth of the Country Parts of This and the Neighboring Provinces." The writer emphasizes the need of making the children "spell true," read "with proper Emphasis and punctuality," write with "a free round hand," cipher accord-

ing to "the most plain and practicable Rules," and learn sufficient grammar "to write properly." Wherever the Rev. Michael Schlatter in his missionary efforts established a church, a school was apt to follow; although he emphasized the teaching of English to such an extent that his countrymen complained that he was attempting to denationalize them. The Rev. Dr. Henry Muhlenberg was largely responsible for the founding of Franklin College[1] (now Franklin and Marshall) in Lancaster, in 1787, in order that the Germans might have a more favorable opportunity for college training.

Christopher Dock was a Mennonite who opened a school in a Mennonite settlement on the Skippack, in what was then a part of Philadelphia County, probably as early as 1714. He later transferred part of his efforts to the log church built by the Mennonites in Germantown, thus dividing his time between the two schools. This he continued to do for twelve years. In 1750 he completed a book on teaching which he called *Schulordnung.* It was the first book on pedagogy both written and printed in the colonies. It is a fifty-four-page pamphlet and was published by the Saurs in 1770.[2] Dock was the first colonial teacher to use a blackboard in his work, and also one of the very first to instruct his pupils in music. He also frequently preached in the Mennonite Church in Germantown. It has been said of him:

> "A simple but scholarly man, a Mennonite and teacher, exceedingly conscientious, little acquainted with the ways of the world, but devoted to his school, he acquired a reputation as an instructor and companion of the young, that,

[1] So named in honor of Benjamin Franklin.
[2] A copy of the first edition is in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

if the record of his life be true; makes him a veritable Pestalozzi in his way."[1]

Joseph Neef was a pupil of Pestalozzi's who was brought to Philadelphia about the year 1809 by the "Magnanimous patriot" William McClure, and opened a school in the Falls of the Schuylkill. His instruction was almost entirely oral and by means of the blackboard. Though a strict disciplinarian, he was a companion of his pupils and took long excursions with them for the purpose of instructing them. He published a work on teaching, the title of which was *A Plan of Teaching and Methods of Instruction.* This was also one of the earliest works on pedagogy both written and printed in America.

Germantown Academy

Germantown, which by the middle of the eighteenth century was almost equally divided between German and English settlers, solved its question of providing higher education for both nationalities by establishing a German and an English school, each of which worked harmoniously side by side. The institution had its origin in 1758 and was at first known as the "Germantown Union School," although it soon bore the more popular name "Germantown Academy." It opened with seventy German and sixty English pupils, and emphasized its harmonious plan by providing homes on the school grounds for the two types of instructors, one on each side of the main school building. In one of these dwelt Hilarius Becker, who had charge of the German pupils; and, in the other, David James Dove, the eccentric

[1] Cf. Boone's *Education in the United States*, p. 56.

but always interesting English schoolmaster. Most of the funds for the establishment of the Academy were raised by a lottery, a favorite method for raising money followed even by many of the early churches. The Germantown Academy is one of the few such institutions in America that has been in existence for almost two centuries. It served for many years as a civic center for the people of Germantown and has preserved some interesting relics of the past.

Although the German population opposed for a time the establishment of a public-school system for Pennsylvania, it was not because of ignorance, penuriousness, or greed for money or power, the usual obstacles to educational progress, but because of their anxiety to retain their language and the customs of the fatherland. The consistent and persistent efforts at critical periods for the public schools of Pennsylvania of such German governors as Joseph Hiester, George Wolf, and Joseph Ritner should be a sufficient answer to the charge of wilful German opposition to educational progress. Governor Hiester, in his parting words to the legislature in 1823, said:

> "Above all it appears an imperative duty to introduce and support a liberal system of education connected with some general religious instruction."

Governor Wolf was leader in the battle that secured the necessary legislation for establishing the public-school system of Pennsylvania; and Governor Ritner, ably assisted by Thaddeus Stevens, stood firmly against its repeal. Even before the end of the eighteenth century, as careful an observer as Doctor Rush was able to say: "There is scarcely an instance of a German of

either sex, in Pennsylvania, that cannot read," although he had to admit that "many of the wives and daughters of the German farmers cannot write." However, he added: "The present state of society among them renders this accomplishment of little consequence to their improvement or happiness."

The Germans were, however, for some years opposed to higher education. They had suffered so much in Europe from the ecclesiasticism, dogmatism, and arrogance of learned men that they had good cause to look with suspicion on the kind of institutions that had helped to give such men their power. Like the Quakers they were, therefore, late in opening colleges.

Pennsylvania's Public-School System

The first steps toward establishing a public-school system for Pennsylvania were taken when the Assembly met in Chester in 1682 and appointed a committee to see that youths were "trained up in virtue and useful knowledge and arts." Although a fine was later fixed for parents who neglected their duty in this respect, the law does not seem to have been enforced, probably because the varied population and multiplicity of religious beliefs fostered the idea that each group preferred to care for the education of its own young people. This, however, left many children uncared for and, when the province became a state in 1776, the framers of its Constitution endeavored to spread the benefits of educational opportunity by inserting a clause enjoining the legislature to establish in every county a school "to instruct youth at low prices."

As this did not meet the needs of the poor, the revised

Constitution of 1790 required the legislature to establish schools "in such manner that the poor shall be taught gratis."[1] But no action was taken by the legislature until 1804, when the Overseers of the Poor in every county were required to list those too poor to pay for tuition and to have them taught at public expense. This was so undemocratic that the people of Northampton County petitioned the legislature to establish schools where no such invidious distinctions prevailed. They also reported upon the poor teaching in the schools, and outlined a plan for establishing district schools supported by the state where all under fourteen years of age could be taught.[2]

But before this the people had taken the matter into their own hands and established charity schools free from sectarianism, and schools in which those employed during the week could be taught on Sunday—the early form of what we now know as the Sabbath School with its purely religious instruction. Both of these types of schools were taught by volunteer teachers and were supported almost entirely by philanthropic persons without regard to any specific religious belief. A more substantial basis for a public-school system developed out of the efforts of several young men, belonging to a social club that organized "The Philadelphia Society for the Free Instruction of Indigent Boys." In 1799 they opened a night school where they taught some twenty or thirty pupils. Their own services as teachers were rendered free, and it is said that their expenses during the first season amounted to only $9.27. As they had donations amounting to $16.37, this left a percentage

[1] Cf. McMaster's *History of the People of the United States*, V, p. 357.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 359.

of unexpended revenue that would gladden the hearts of any modern school board so favored as to be able to equal it.

In 1801 Christopher Ludwick (Ludwig), the Revolution's honest baker, died and left the sum of $8000 to be given to "the association first incorporated to teach gratis poor children." The Society represented by these young men at once became rivals of the trustees of the University of Pennsylvania for this bequest. The Governor of Pennsylvania, who at this period was authorized to issue properly attested applications for charters, decided to be impartial and place an article of incorporation in the hands of an agent of each of the rival organizations, starting them at the same time on their way to Lancaster, then the capital of the state, with the understanding that the one arriving first should be entitled to enroll the charter commanding the fund. This, on an excessively hot day, started a race which, though unheralded by fame, probably remains unrivaled in the history of education. The agent of the young men won the race; and with the funds the Society erected the "Ludwick School" on Walnut Street near Sixth, Philadelphia, in 1804. By 1809 it had an enrollment of 278 boys. Two years later a school for girls was also established.

The impulse for the establishment of permanent free schools now rapidly gained strength and in 1818 the legislature erected the city and county of Philadelphia into "The First School District of Pennsylvania." Then followed the period of depression often referred to as "eighteen hundred and starve to death," and the enrollment in the schools, owing to unemployment, rapidly rose to 5000. But the schools thus established

were not public schools as we know them. They were only for "indigent orphan children or the children of indigent parents." This soon branded them as "Pauper Schools" and interfered greatly with their popularity. They were conducted with great economy because the "Lancasterian System," whereby one teacher assisted by pupil helpers could instruct large numbers, was used.

By 1820 better times and the "high wages" of 50 cents to $1.25 a week decreased the numbers in the schools of the city to 3000. Thus early was revealed a fundamental weakness of the schools, which was not remedied until compulsory education laws were passed for the purpose of overcoming the greed of parents. In 1824 a law was passed authorizing communities to establish schools that would be free to all and which were to be supported by taxation. This was Pennsylvania's first effort to establish true public schools; but it met with so much opposition that the law was repealed two years later. However, the interest of the people in general in public schools was spreading as was evident in a mass meeting of workingmen held in Philadelphia, in 1829, at which the lack of proper school facilities throughout the state was denounced and an appeal made to the legislature for remedy. Then in 1834 the state was divided into school districts and the establishment and maintenance of free schools for all from funds raised by taxation was made mandatory. Pennsylvania now had a real public-school law.

It was bitterly attacked the next year; but, through its able defense by Thaddeus Stevens, the son of a Vermont farmer but then an Assemblyman representing

Adams County, Pennsylvania, the act of repeal not only was defeated but the way was opened for greatly improving its provisions two years later. At last Pennsylvania had public schools which, because they were supported and controlled by the people, were used by rich and poor alike. The stigma of pauperism which had been interfering both with their proper support and their progress also disappeared. The law of 1836 authorized the First School District (Philadelphia County) to establish a high school. Under its provisions the "Central High School" was erected and opened in 1838 with J. S. Hart as principal, although the work was organized by Alexander Dallas Bache, who, while president of Girard College, had visited European schools and on his return written a report on "Education in Europe" which was widely circulated and pronounced to be "one of the most influential educational works ever published in this country."[1] It was especially influential in forwarding the movement for the establishing of secondary (high) schools, and in fostering the growing sentiment that ended in the opening of state-supported teacher-training (normal) schools.

Boston is entitled to the credit of opening (1821) the first public high school. But Philadelphia stands next. The inclusion of secondary education in the program of public education proved a potent force in breaking down the persistent feeling, inherited from the Old World, that there must be upper and lower strata in society and that, therefore, free public education beyond elementary needs was both unnecessary and unnatural. It also removed the last vestige of the feeling that free education at public expense is a charity. New York

[1] Boone's *Education in the United States*, p. 148.

postponed its establishment of public high schools by incorporating certain of its academies. A somewhat similar plan delayed the multiplication of high schools in Pennsylvania, when, in 1838, the state offered its financial assistance to such "academies" and "female seminaries" as then existed.

The first teacher-training schools in America may fairly be attributed to the monitorial system of instruction originated by Dr. Andrew Bell in 1797, but which was elaborated by Joseph Lancaster and bears his name. In 1810 a school for training teachers for conducting such schools was opened in New York; and in 1818, when Lancaster lectured in America, he was employed to establish such a Lancasterian training school for teachers in Philadelphia. But these schools pretended little beyond this specific training.[1] In New York, as well as elsewhere, the academies were regarded as a worthy source of teachers for the schools; but these academies furnished no professional training for their graduates. Almost simultaneously, in 1821, appeared legislative appeals in several of the states for some form of regular training of teachers for their work. In Pennsylvania this appeal was made by W. R. Johnson. In 1823 S. R. Hall opened a private "teachers' school" in New Hampshire and published lectures on the subject that were distributed widely in New England and the Middle States; but it was not until 1838 that Massachusetts passed its Normal School Act establishing teacher training as a state function. Ten years later, when Philadelphia opened its first high school for girls, a normal school course was included in its curriculum and soon became very popular because the

[1] Boone's *Education in the United States*, p. 132, note.

supply of teachers for the lower schools was drawn from it.

Philadelphia took a leading part in the improvement of these lower (elementary) schools when, in 1832, Thomas Dunlap, the energetic president of its "Board of Controllers of the Schools," succeeded in abolishing the fundamentally weak Lancasterian System and also instituted the "experiment" of separating the younger from the older pupils into what were at first called "Infant Schools." This "experiment" was so successful that it attracted widespread attention, especially in New England where elementary education was making but slow progress. With a fund bequeathed by Stephen Girard, Dunlap was also able to have new and greatly improved school buildings erected. These also attracted widespread public attention and for some years the city of Philadelphia made a creditable showing in the educational affairs of the country. But it was a laggard in regard to adopting professional supervision of its schools—

> "Until 1883 it, among all the cities of the United States, was without a superintendent."[1]

The authorized prerogatives of the Board of Control, which later became the "Board of Education," were such as to foster executive as well as legislative functions on the part of its members in the management of the schools. This, with a dual arrangement of city and ward control, allowed the schools to drift into a situation from which they were not freed until an excellent revised school code for the state was adopted in 1911.[2]

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[1] Boone's *Education in the United States*, p. 111.
[2] During the presidency of the Board of Education of Henry R. Edmunds.

"Old Academy," Wilmington, Delaware, founded 1798. Such academies, numerous prior to the Civil War, were the forerunners of many of our colleges and universities.

Interior of an old school building at Valley Forge. Benches for small pupils clustered around the stove in the center. Desks for older pupils faced the walls. Blackboards and maps were late in appearing.

Education in West Jersey

The fact that Burlington enjoys the distinction of having the first permanent school fund in America has already been referred to. The settlers there had in 1683 set aside an island adjoining their town, the revenue from which was to be used for the maintenance of a school and enjoyed "by all the families equally." Ten years later (1693), while West New Jersey still had its own legislature, a law was passed authorizing a school in any town in which the freeholders desired it—

> "the consent of the major part of the inhabitants to be binding on all," for carrying the expense "even to the distress of their goods and chattels."

This was a thoroughly democratic procedure and as good as anything yet done in the colonies.[1] But the law was only permissive and most of the West Jersey settlements failed to make use of it. This was especially true after Queen Anne united "The Jerseys" into one royal province; for the royal governors, like the provincial governors on the west side of the Delaware, preferred

> "the old British method of educating the higher class for governing, with the masses left to the claim of charity."[2]

But early in the nineteenth century the discussions and agitations in regard to education began to produce results on the eastern side of the Delaware as well as on the western. As early as 1816 the General Assembly

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[1] Boone's *Education in the United States*, p. 57.

[2] Mayo's *Report of the Commission of Education for 1893–94*, pp. 732–3. Cf. also Hammond's statement in his summary of *Conditions in England in the Eighteenth Century* where he says: "Both the ancient universities were the universities of the rich. . . . . What was true of the universities was true of the public schools. Education in England was a nursery not of society, but of an order; not of a state, but of a race of owner-rulers."

of New Jersey set aside $15,000 as the nucleus of a permanent school fund for the state. This sum was added to in succeeding years and, in 1824, it was provided that one tenth of all state taxes should each year be placed in the fund for the assistance of the schools. But most of the schools assisted by these funds were weak voluntary affairs and quite generally unused by those they were especially intended to benefit. These conditions finally led to the meeting of the friends of education in Trenton, in November, 1828, where arrangements were made for the survey of conditions that served as a basis for future efforts.

That the conditions revealed were not peculiar to New Jersey is indicated in the fact that when John Quincy Adams was inaugurated in 1825 there was not a state that had established a public-school system, although the country already had a population of 14,000,000. "In some states they were struggling into existence, in others quite unknown."[1] Here schools were voluntary, there limited to the poor; parents were indifferent, and teachers ill-fitted for their work. Even in Massachusetts, where a public educational program had been started as early as 1647, there were settlements with less than fifty families that had established no schools prior to the year 1800. And even long after this, schools everywhere were often held in the basement of churches or in rude buildings erected by voluntary labor. Boarding schools and academies, however, were already beginning to flourish in New Jersey as elsewhere.

Morristown, whose history is closely identified with that of the Valley of the Delaware, had two flourishing

[1] McMaster's *History of the People of the United States*, V, p. 343

academies before the end of the eighteenth century; and Burlington in 1828 had no less than four boarding schools although it had only one free school. Mount Holly had a charity school supported by benevolence; but there were still over 400 children in Burlington County, then the richest county in West Jersey, destitute of schooling. Progress came but slowly, and in 1838 a second meeting of the friends of education was held in Trenton. But it was not until 1851 that a law was enacted providing a public-school system for the state. This law required the establishment and maintenance of at least one free school in every district in which should be taught, free of charge, all children between five and eighteen years of age "desirous of attending the same." This law was greatly improved in 1867 and gave New Jersey one of the best school laws of the country in existence at that time.

A description of the schools of the colonial period is well set forth by Mahlon Johnson, whose schooldays were spent in New Jersey, soon after 1783.—

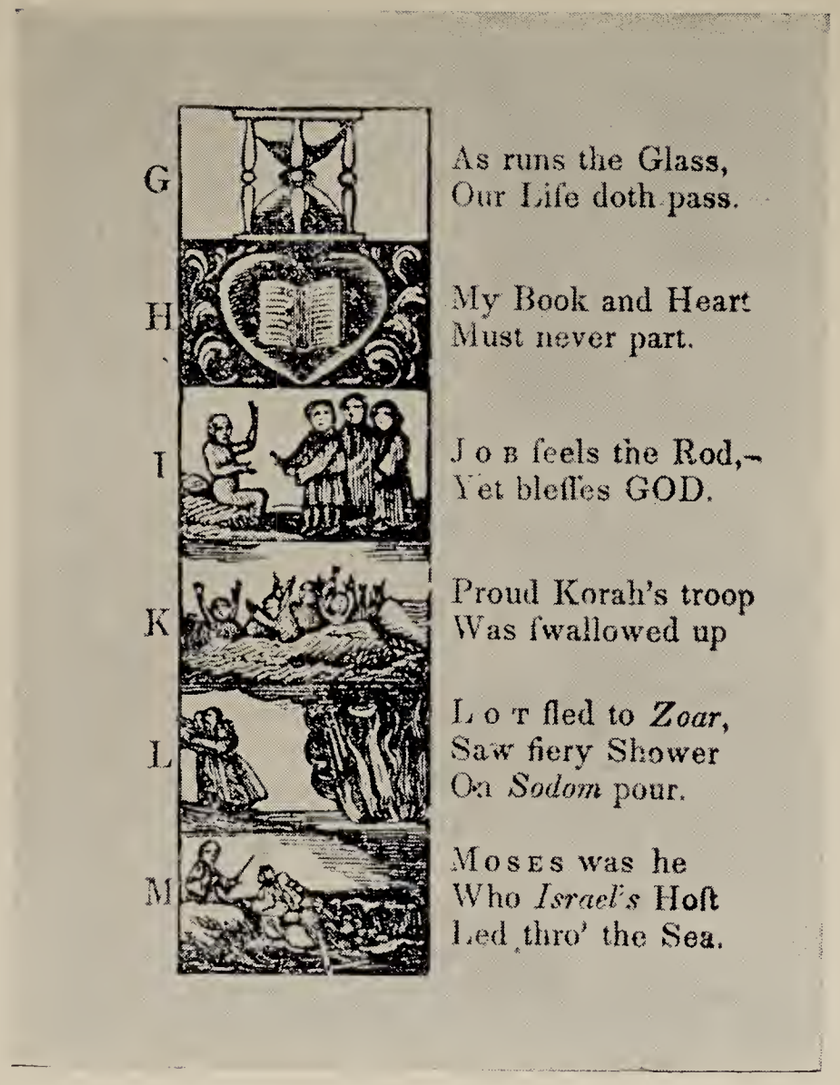
> "The school building was constructed of logs, and instead of glass for windows sheepskins were stretched over apertures made by sawing off an occasional log. These windows had one virtue—they were an effectual screen to prevent pupils from being interrupted in their exercises by what was going on outside. The time was regulated by an hour-glass; and the pupils drank water from a tumbler made of cow's horn, or from a gourd shell. Arithmetic was not taught in classes, but pupils ciphered each on his own account when he was not engaged in reading, spelling or writing. These latter branches were taught in classes. A chalk line or a crack in the floor was the mark they were required to toe. The common school was hardly a school in those days unless the whack of the ruler or the whistle of the whip was heard."

Education in Delaware

The Swedish and Dutch colonists on the Delaware were prompt in establishing schools. This was in accord with the best traditions of their respective fatherlands. But, as has been indicated, the frequent changes in government interfered with stable plans and finally left education in the hands of the ministers, the sporadic efforts of conscientious parents, and such itinerant schoolmasters as were occasionally available. This militated against anything like systematic and continuous schooling for the rising generations, and resulted in a condition deplored especially by the ministers because of the numbers even of adults who could not read the ritual of their religious services. As was true in Pennsylvania and West Jersey, the first movements in educational improvement in Delaware started in the institutions for advanced learning. Watson indicates that there was such an institution for girls in "Lewistown" (Lewes) before 1700, and that Deputy-governor Thomas Lloyd

> "preferred to send his younger daughters from Philadelphia to that place to finish their education."—Watson's *Annals*, I, 288.

The private schools and the "Old Academy" in Wilmington also carried on this advanced program. But the state's greatest impulse for higher education came from an institution established in Newark before the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1738 the Lewes Presbytery petitioned the Philadelphia Synod to subject candidates for the ministry to a searching examination in the several branches of philosophy, divinity, and the languages. This petition for a more scholarly ministry



G As runs the Glass,
Our Life doth pass.

H My Book and Heart
Must never part.

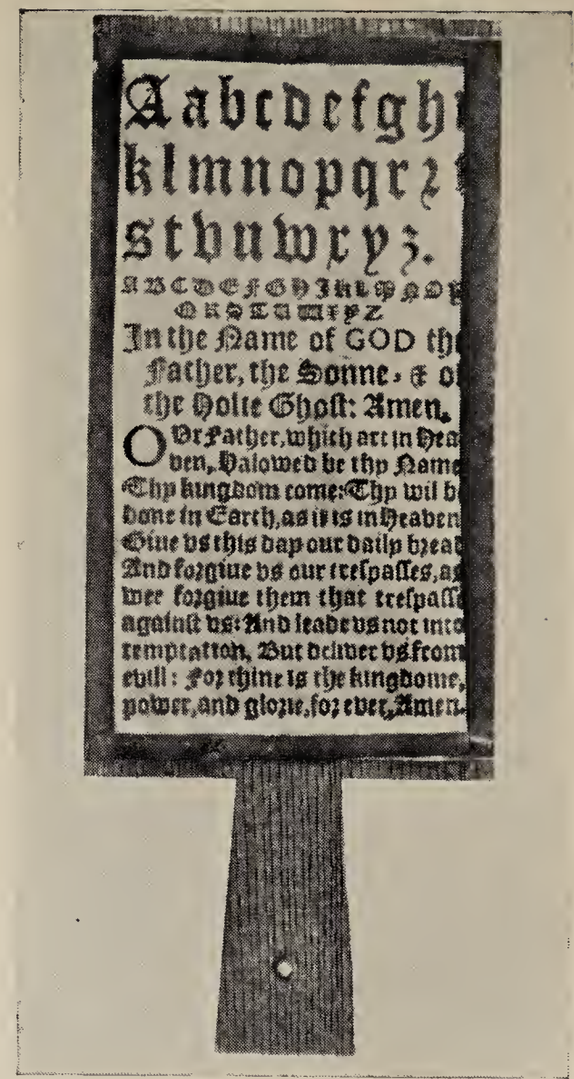
I Job feels the Rod,–
Yet bleſſes GOD.

K Proud Korah's troop
Was ſwallowed up

L Lot fled to *Zoar*,
Saw fiery Shower
On *Sodom* pour.

M Moses was he
Who *Israel's* Hoſt
Led thro' the Sea.

Page of 1777 edition of the *New England Primer*. Bound in thin pine board covered with paper. Size of cover, 3 ½ by 4 ½ inches.



Aabcdefgh
klmnopqr
sthuwxyz.

In the Name of GOD th
Father, the Sonne, & o
the Holie Ghost: Amen.

Our Father, which art in Hea
ven, Halowed be thy Name
Thy kingdom come: Thy wil b
done in Earth, as it is in Heaven
Give us this day our daily bread
And forgive us our trespasses, a
wee forgive them that trespass
against us: And leade us not into
temptation, But deliver us from
evill: For thine is the kingdome,
power, and glorie, for ever, Amen.

Horn book. One of the forms of these early devices for instruction of the young. Original in Harvard University Library.

led the Synod to seek the services of the Rev. Francis Allison, who had established an academy at New London, Chester County, Pennsylvania, that had attained a well-earned fame. He undertook the new work and succeeded so well that prominent Delawareans secured the transfer of the institution to Newark, with the purpose of making it a leading institution for imparting the higher learning.

University of Delaware

In Newark the school met with a varying success, owing to the lack of funds and of general support. Finally, after numerous appeals to the General Assembly, permission was granted to raise $50,000 by a lottery for the purpose of erecting and establishing a college there. But this was not until 1818. Three years later the Assembly granted the movement public support by setting aside for it the proceeds of taxes derived from stage lines and steamboats. In 1825 another lottery for $50,000 was authorized; and, finally, in 1833 a building was erected and "Newark College" was fully on its way. The college opened September, 1834, and continued with varying success until 1859 when, as the result of a succession of misfortunes, it was closed and remained so until 1870. But by an act of the state legislature in 1869 it became the beneficiary (under the act of Congress known as the "Morrill Act") of government land in the state, with the provision that it include in its curriculum the teaching of agriculture, the mechanic arts, and military tactics. This made it to that extent a state institution and the name was changed to "Delaware College." It was still, however, partly under private control and remained so until

1913 when it became the full property of the state. In 1921 the state combined with it the "Women's College," which had been established by the state in the same vicinity in 1913, and incorporated the entire institution as the *University of Delaware.* Previous to this, Pierre S. DuPont donated the tract of land lying between the two colleges, thus affording an ample campus of eighty-eight acres in the heart of Newark. The practical work in agriculture is maintained on a near-by farm of two hundred seventeen acres.

The people of Delaware have always been proud of the fact that their state was the first to ratify the Constitution of the United States; and her prominent citizens have also been unwilling to see it lag behind in education. Wilmington developed a number of private schools in the closing days of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries. This was partly due to the number of educated French refugees who made it their home. The "Old Academy" was opened about 1765. Mrs. Montgomery described it as

> "a noble stone edifice of the neatest mason work, graced by majestic forest trees on the surrounding grounds, commanding an extensive prospect of land and water."

The famous preacher, George Whitefield, speaking of one of his missionary tours, said: "In the academy woods at Wilmington I preached to 3000 persons." At the outbreak of the Revolution its principal, Robert Patterson, gave his pupils military drill and carried many of them with him into the war. In 1786 an important scientific meeting was held in the Academy, its work having been resumed. At this meeting there were present Benjamin Franklin, David Rittenhouse,

Benjamin Rush, and James Madison. Franklin presented a number of experiments in electricity, which was then in the infancy of its scientific development and regarded as a great curiosity. Wilmington had also the "Brandywine Academy," founded in 1799, and incorporated in 1815. Dover and New Castle had, about the same time, academies of which their citizens were proud and which helped to keep public interest in education alive.

But, like other portions of the Valley of the Delaware, the final leadings for free public schools in Delaware grew out of provisions that were made for the instruction of the poor. The first legislation for this purpose was enacted in 1817. This law was several times amended before the general law of 1829, which gave Delaware a free public-school system, was passed. This act established the first public-school system in the valley and was also one of the very first established in the country at large. Although the law had some excellent features, it was fundamentally weak in that it provided no expert state supervision and set no uniform standards that had to be met in order to secure a just proportion of state funds. As a result, the degree of excellence of the schools in the three counties of the state was left too much to local interest and local initiative. And Delaware was late among the states in remedying these defects. Taking the country at large it is surprising how greatly educational opportunities vary even yet, often in adjoining public-school districts. This leaves it entirely too much to chance how fully a child born in a democracy secures its birthright opportunity of making the most of its early training for life.

Lines of Improvement

The greatest improvements in public education since colonial days have come along the lines of marked development in textbooks and their proper use, the improvements in school buildings and school appliances, in centralized school opportunities, and in the professional training of teachers. In the publishing of improved textbooks Philadelphia for many years took a leading part. The cost of printing and binding books was for many years so great that as much information as possible had to be included in one book, and that often a small one. Even as late as 1783 Noah Webster's *Spelling Book,* which probably had the widest use of any schoolbook ever published, according to the author's own statement, was encyclopedic in scope and comprised "an Easy, Concise, and Systematic Method of Education." It consisted of three parts—a "Speller," a "Grammar," and a "Reader." Besides its lists of words the first part contained geographical knowledge of countries and towns to be taken occasionally as spelling lessons.

Before this, in 1748, Franklin and Hall had published what appears almost like an *omnia gatherum* in the way of a textbook; for its title reads:

> "The American Instructor, or Young Man's Best Companion, containing Spelling, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, in an Easier Way than any Yet published, and how to qualify any Person for Business without the help of a Master."

The expense of a teacher must have seemed superfluous to the possessor of such a textbook. Many of the early textbooks in use were imported from England

or reproduced in this country. This was especially true of the textbooks written by the English schoolmaster, Thomas Dilworth. Dwight's Geography, which was about the size of an elementary spelling book and entirely devoid of maps, was published in 1795. It was one of the first geographies published, and furnished its information in the catechetical form of question and answer. The wants of the German schools were supplied by Christopher Saur (Sower), who at his press in Germantown published the "A, B, C," and other elementary textbooks used during the earlier days of American education.

In learning to read, the first step regarded as necessary was to recognize and know in their order the letters of the alphabet. In arithmetic, it was the ability to count consecutively up to 100 and to recognize the Roman numerals. As the day's session usually opened with singing and prayer, it was also regarded as important to keep the Lord's Prayer before the pupils. These —the alphabet in both small and capital letters, the Roman numerals, and the Lord's Prayer—were all printed on an oblong sheet about the size of the hand and fastened to a thin board, in the shape of a paddle that could easily be held in the hand. To save the printing from the marks of soiled fingers, it had a covering of horn shaved thin enough for the printing to show through and which was held in place by a rim of thin brass. These "Horn Books" were very convenient both for instruction and for rapping the knuckles of dull or inattentive pupils when they were gathered for recitation about the master's knee. But these Horn Books soon proved inadequate and were followed by primers and reading books, the first pages of which pre-

sented the alphabet and an ingenious system of syllabication in which the vowels were combined with the consonants in a manner that was regarded as helpful before the pupil attacked the reading matter which followed. This reading matter usually consisted of the catechism and selections from the Bible, the great test of proficiency always being the ability to read from the Bible.

Penmanship was taught from copies set by the master in blank books made in the home from handmade writing paper purchased for the purpose. Beginners used a large sheet purchased at the store for a penny, and which was folded into four parts for their use. In due time, they were promoted to seats at the writing desks. These were boards inclined at an angle and fastened to the walls. There was one on each side of the room, and they were very popular as places on which to carve initials and imaginary designs while the teacher was busy elsewhere. Everybody knew how to make ink by mixing the nut-galls found on oak trees with copperas and alum and a due amount of rain water. The skill of the master was often measured by his ability to cut a proper nib for easy writing on the end of the goose-quill furnished by the pupil as a combined pen and penholder.

Blackboards were at first unknown and the problems in "ciphering" (arithmetic) were placed on the slate by the teacher. These often consisted of problems in long division whose solution not only filled the slate but called forth groans even from the smartest pupils. If the solution could not all be gotten on the slate, witty teachers were apt to advise the complainant to "let the work hang over the side." Geography was not at first

taught at all and, when introduced, the instruction usually took the form of singing in concert the information furnished by maps hung on the walls. Benjamin Workman's *Elements of Geography* with maps was brought out in Philadelphia in 1803. There was but little study of English Grammar prior to the Revolution. Lindlay Murray's *English Grammar*, however, then appeared and continued in use until in the middle of the nineteenth century. The famous grammar written by Goold Brown was published in 1823 and is still an important authority on the accurate use of English.

Nearly all the textbooks had mingled with their information a strong interlarding of moral lessons. The *New England Primer*, whose first issue has not been definitely fixed but the second of which appeared in 1691 (with several subsequent issues in Philadelphia and Boston) always combined its teaching of the alphabet with such moral lessons as:

A
In Adam's fall,
We sinned all.
B
Heaven to find
The Bible mind,
Etc.

Each couplet was faced with an illustration that was expected to help to impress the moral on the youthful mind.

A great deal of ingenuity was exercised in inventing problems calculated to absorb the youthful mind and keep it from wandering off into by and forbidden paths. And it was the delight of the group gathered about the fire in the village store to present "puzzlers" to the

schoolmaster—puzzlers that would rout all the mathematical ability he, by virtue of his office, was presupposed to possess. Two examples of these follow:

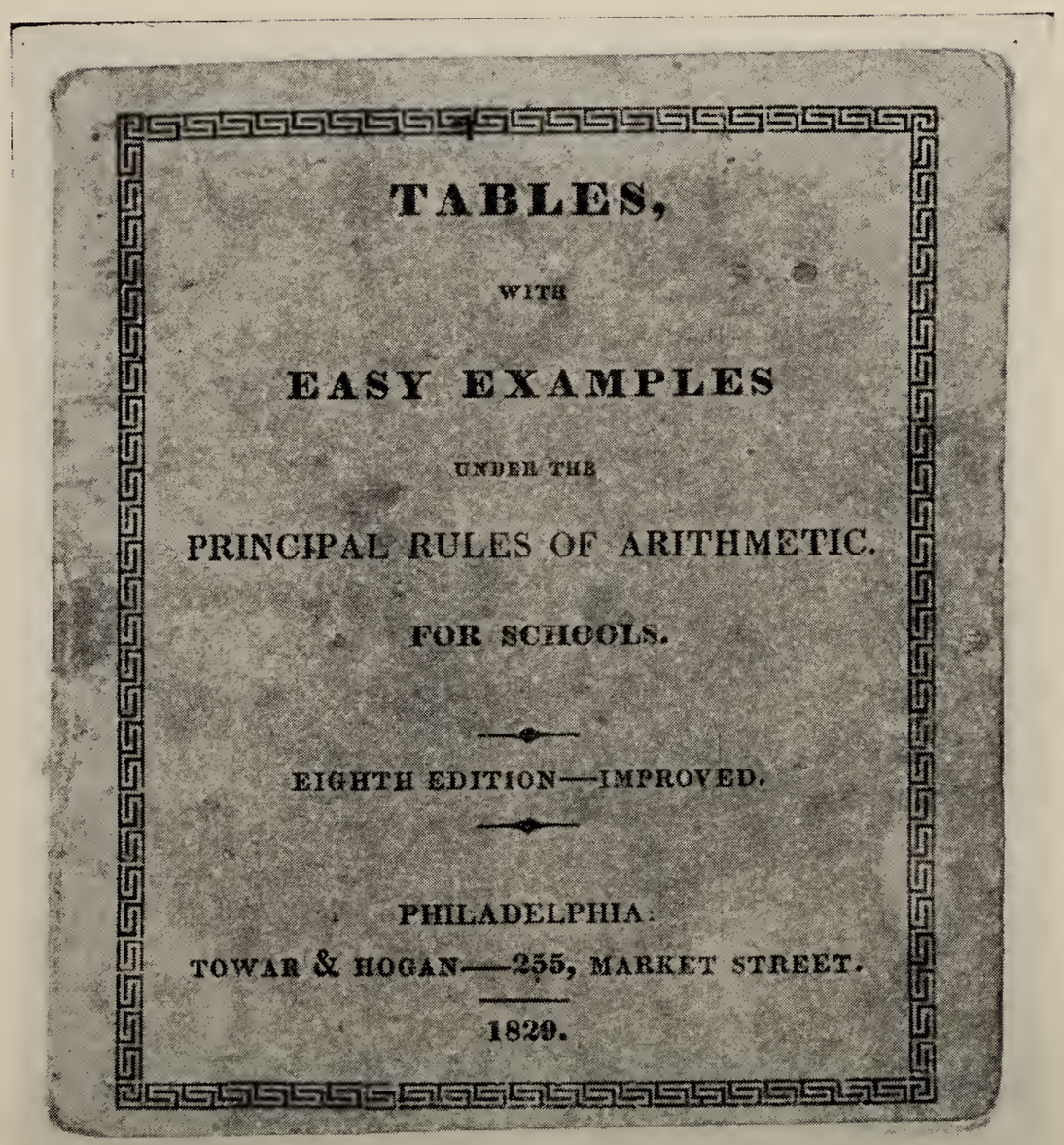
> "A man driving his geese to market was met by another man who said: 'Good morning with your hundred geese!' 'I have not a hundred geese,' says he, 'but if I had half as many as I now have, and two geese and a half besides the number I have already, I would have a hundred.' How many geese had he?"

The second "*puzzler*" is in poetic form—

> "When first the marriage knot was tied,
> Betwixt my wife and me,
> My age did hers as far exceed
> As three times three does three;
> But when ten years and half ten years
> We man and wife had been,
> Her age came then as near to mine,
> As eight is to sixteen."[1]

The improvements in school buildings have been such as to lead astonished foreign visitors to speak of our "palaces of education." But when it is remembered that millions of children find in these school buildings, with their modern equipment, an uplift in health and sanitation, an aesthetic and social environment, and an appeal to possible lines of development that would otherwise be unknown to them, only the best should be regarded as good enough. The erection of centralized school buildings, large enough to be properly constructed and adequately equipped and graded, is affording educational opportunities that were impossible in the "little red schoolhouse" of bygone days.

[1] It will be noticed that the originator of this problem took the liberty of disguising the relation of ages under the appearance of mere difference of age. Both problems are easy of solution by algebra—an unfamiliar study at that period.



TABLES,

WITH

EASY EXAMPLES

UNDER THE

PRINCIPAL RULES OF ARITHMETIC.

FOR SCHOOLS.

EIGHTH EDITION—IMPROVED.

PHILADELPHIA:

TOWAR & HOGAN—255, MARKET STREET.

1829.

An arithmetic in use in 1829. Paper cover, exact size, and containing twenty-four pages.

THOMAS DILWORTH,
Schoolmaster.

THE
Schoolmasters Assistant:
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BOTH
Practical and Theoretical.

IN FIVE PARTS.

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BY THOMAS DILWORTH,
Author of the New Guide to the English Tongue; Young Book-Keeper's Assistant, &c. &c. and Schoolmaster in Wapping.

All things, which from the very first Original Being of Things, have been framed and made, do appear to be formed by the Reason of Numbers; for this was the principal Exemplar or Pattern in the Mind of the CREATOR.
Anicius Boetius.

This [O Lord] hast ordered all Things in Measure, Number and Weight.
Wisdom xi. 20.

WILMINGTON,
Printed and Sold by PETER BRYNBERG.
M,DCC,XCVI.

Dilworth's Arithmetic. A Wilmington reprint, 1796. Thomas Dilworth was an English schoolmaster whose works were reprinted in America for the benefit of schoolmasters.

But the most important educational advances have been made along the line of employing only professionally trained teachers, and without regard to favoritism. Strange to say, as late as 1839 a committee of investigation in New England raised two objections to teacher-training (normal) schools: (1) They would open the way for too much experimenting in teaching and would therefore be demoralizing; (2) Teachers would lose standing with their pupils when it was learned they had to go to school to learn how to teach. But normal schools and departments of education in universities have come, and teaching has become a profession from the three standpoints of thoroughly organized preparation, fair emoluments, and permanence of occupation.

Professional training is necessary in these days when educators are facing new and increasingly complex problems wherever government aims at dynamic rather than static control. Especially must they be competent and trustworthy leaders in all the phases of education as they apply to the home, the school, and the community at large. There must be a high level of intelligence and outlook in the masses as well as in the classes wherever all share in the making and enforcing of the laws; for

> "there can be no real liberty without a wide diffusion of real intelligence—that until means of equal instruction shall be equally secured to all, liberty is but an unmeaning word, and equality an empty shadow."[1]

Governor Berkeley reflected a very prevalent opinion of his day when, in 1671, he said:

> "I thank God there are no free schools nor printing-presses [in Virginia] and I hope we shall not have them these

[1] James Truslow Adams' *Epic of America.*

hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them and libels against the best of governments: God keep us from both."

Although Governor Berkeley personally gave liberal support to schools for the upper governmental class, he strenuously opposed both schools and newspapers that would help to inform the masses, and failed to see what costly experience is teaching us; namely, that the wide dissemination of knowledge, literature, and news is the best safeguard against the rule of the demagogue and the menace of ignorance and crime. H. G. Wells, after a searching and comprehensive study of civilization from the earliest days, has said:

"For a living, dynamic state education is essential with any great increase in size. Until a man has education a vote is a useless and dangerous thing for him to possess"; The ordinary man in a democracy that will endure must be "an informed, inspired, and consulted part of his community."[1]

Science is leading the way for avoiding error and searching out lines of improvement; but the spirit in which its findings are applied is a challenge to our integrity of purpose as responsible citizens. With proper coordination and support of all the educational forces within and without the school, we need not fear the shafts of misfortune nor that we will be compelled to resort to dictatorships, whether local or national, with their undermining effects on self-respect and self-reliance, for the solution of our increasingly complex problems.

[1] Cf. Wells' *Outline of History*, 3d ed., pp. 696, 697, and 707.

Chapter XII

SCIENCE, LITERATURE, AND ART

The first settlers in the Valley of the Delaware were practically free to mark out for themselves the lines of their economic, social, and political development; and yet we would naturally expect them to develop along the lines of the interests most dear to them in the lands from which they came. In this respect their history is that of their native countries, and to understand certain of their marked tendencies, we must go back to the pages of their past. A unique feature of American history, however, remains; namely, that, because America offered a virgin soil to emigrants from Europe's twenty centuries of civilization, it was able through its environmental conditions to forge out for the world a people who had new ideals, or at least epochal applications of old ideals with exceptional opportunity for their fruition.

We would have to go back very far to trace all of the developments in industry; and yet the applications of the expansive strength of steam, the explosive force of gasoline, and the invention of the cotton gin, the sewing machine, and the reaper have enabled America to usher in important epochs in industrial development.[1]

[1] For the valley's share in these epochs consult the chapter on Industry. The grave danger is that America has fostered developments in industry and agriculture that have led the world to produce more than can be consumed under existing conditions of distribution and consumption, and thereby has brought about a crisis in economic, civic, and social affairs.

Some of the important European influences in science, literature, and art are nearer at hand; and in education they with their American applications are so important as to have deserved separate chapters. These with industry and religion constitute the very life of a people.

The rich burghers and guilds of Holland as early as the sixteenth century displayed an eager interest in scientific inquiry and the fine arts;[1] but this interest was never transplanted by them as a nation to America. The first appearance of anything savoring of scientific effort on the banks of the Delaware was established by the band of mystics who came from Germany under the leadership of Johannes Kelpius and established a communistic settlement in the wilds of the Wissahickon. This was in 1694. They were followers of Jacob Böhm whose most important philosophical work was his *Description of the Three Principles of Divine Being,* a work containing many profound and lofty ideas.[2] This band of mystics formed a true theosophical (Rosicrucian) community. Like the Essenes of old they had removed into the wilderness to perfect themselves in holiness as a preparation for the millennium they believed near at hand and the exact time of whose appearance they believed could be read from the heavens and the conjunction of the stars. These they closely observed from an observatory they had erected on their main building.

Though their study of the stars was more akin to the astrology of those early days than to true astronomy, theirs was unquestionably the first astronomical ob-

[1] Fiske's *Dutch and Quaker Colonies,* I, p. 17.
[2] Sachse's *The German Pietists of Pennsylvania,* p. 48.

servatory in America.[1] They were also interested in the art of healing and, from the garden connected with their meetinghouse, added to the accumulating knowledge of the healing properties of plants. Dr. Christopher Witt, "a physician and astronomer" who lived in Germantown from 1704 to 1765, was one of the last of these mystics and, no doubt, was somewhat influenced in his prescriptions by what the stars had to say.[2] Dr. John Matthew Otto, the first apothecary of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, during the middle of the eighteenth century raised in his own garden most of the medicinal plants used in his practice.

Bartram, Wilson, Audubon

But the first regular botanical garden in the United States was developed around the home of John Bartram of Philadelphia. In 1728 he bought ground at Gray's Ferry and, after building his home "with his own hands," he beautified his grounds with plants and trees gathered together in his travels and correspondence with other nature lovers. He had "a propensity for Botanicks from his infancy," and Linnæus pronounced him the greatest natural botanist in the world. He published two interesting journals of his travels which led Franklin to say of him, in a letter introducing him to a friend:

> "You will find him to be at least twenty folio pages, large paper, well filled, on the subjects of botany, fossils, husbandry, and the first creation."

John Bartram transmitted many of his talents to his son William, who also became a noted botanist.

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[1] Sachse, p. 194, says, "All trace has long since been lost of the astronomical and philosophical apparatus brought over at various times and used by the Mystical Brethren in their studies and speculations."

[2] Faust's *The German Element in the United States*, II, p. 398.

A close personal friend of the latter was Alexander Wilson, a Scotchman who came to this country in 1794. He at first, according to his own words, taught school in "A neat stone schoolhouse on a sloping green," standing on Darby Road and not distant from Bartram's home. Catching Bartram's enthusiasm for nature study, he began the study of bird life. Abandoning his school in 1804, he contributed articles to the *Literary Magazine,* and before his death completed one of the first illustrated standard works on ornithology ever issued. He at his own request was buried in the yard of Old Swedes where as he desired the birds can still sing over his grave.

Of equal fame as an ornithologist was John James Audubon who was born Independence year on a plantation in Louisiana. His French parents, seeing their son's love of nature and his talent for drawing the birds and beasts he saw, sent him to France where he perfected this art under the hand of the master painter David. Returning to America he married a Miss Blakewell, a Montgomery County farmer's daughter who was in sympathy with his work, and they settled on a farm belonging to his father in the valley of the Schuylkill about halfway between Norristown and Phoenixville.[1] From there he made excursions into the surrounding regions, drawing and describing the wild life he saw. For a wider pursuit of his interests they then removed to Kentucky where he made wide excursions into its wilds and woodlands. After years of labor he submitted some of his drawings to a French publisher who did not realize their value; but going to England he was received with high honor because scientists there

[1] Now the town of Audubon.

realized his genius in interpreting and recording nature at first hand. He then published his celebrated work on ornithology, which was accompanied by "volumes of paintings, illustrated in letter-press with animated descriptions and lively incidents of personal adventure."[1] After a few years he returned to America where he began to prepare a similar publication, for which he had the material, on quadrupeds; but the infirmities of advancing age compelled him to relinquish to others this part of his life's work. He died in 1851 and his body rests in Trinity Cemetery, New York, his last home being near that city.

There is something in the nature of man that impels him toward knowing and controlling the secrets of the world in which he lives, as well as toward his imparting his findings to others. But, during the centuries when the Church dominated the policies of the state, discoveries and ideas that seemed to contradict the dicta of the ruling religion constituted heresy, and heresy was punishable by imprisonment and death The ignorance and apathy fostered by such conditions were a hindrance to progress. Moreover, the fixed social strata of the times proved an almost insuperable obstacle to those who were handicapped by birth or the lack of fortune.

But untrammeled America proved a welcome haven not only for the persecuted, the downtrodden and the handicapped, but also for the leaders of progress along all lines. Though the conditions there at first absorbed time and energy in securing the necessities of life, with the assurances of comfort came the leisure and

[1] Cf. Parke Goodwin's article written 1853 for Putnam's *Homes of American Authors.*

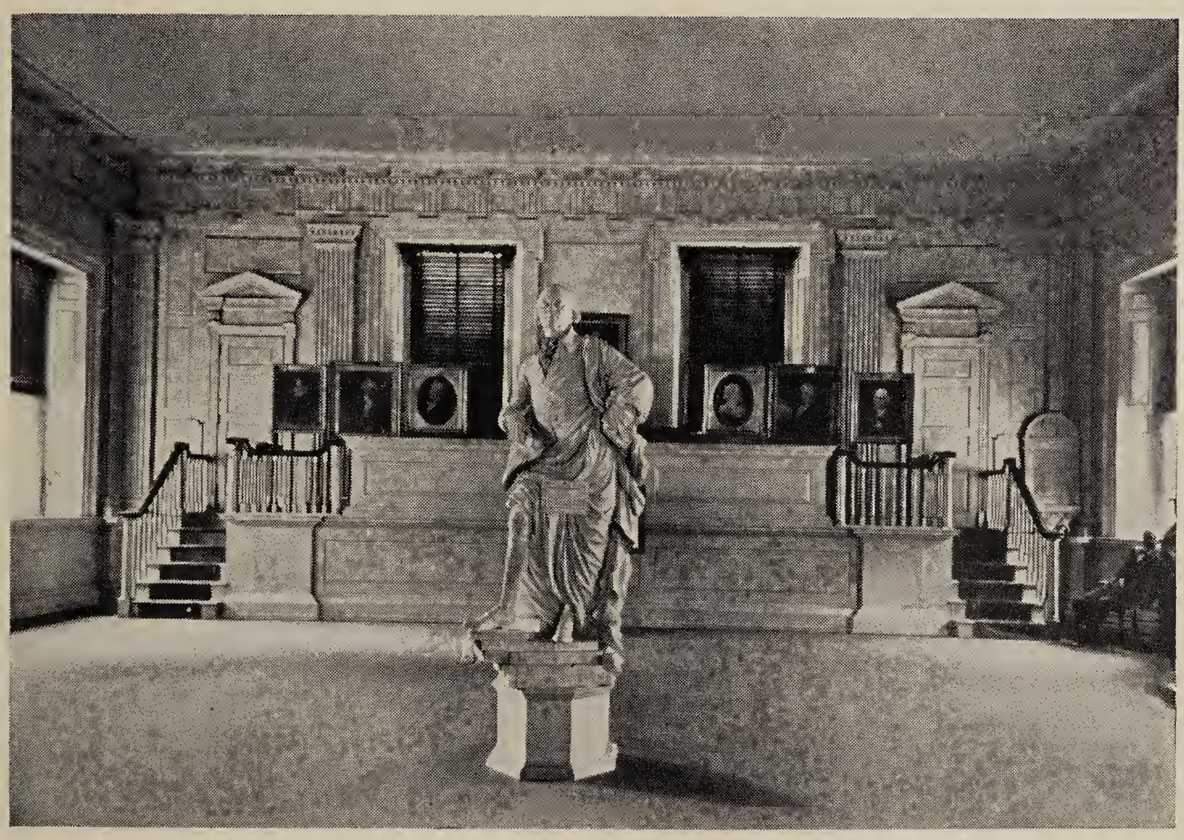
impulse favorable to a hitherto unknown opportunity for progress. And the very fact that necessity often compelled the invention of new devices and the adoption of new ideas, and that even devices and ideas imported from abroad had to be adapted to new conditions, all served as an incentive to new and better things. The liberal ideas of Penn and the general attractiveness of the part of his province that he knew, and which had been so well advertised in central and western Europe, resulted in a growth in population and material progress that were exceptional in the colonies. And that the Valley of the Delaware, with the adjoining Susquehanna valley, should prove a nursery of progress for the leaders who either remained within these regions or took part in our advancing frontier was only to be expected.

Benjamin Franklin

One of the best illustrations of development from obscurity to a position of high prominence under such conditions is afforded by the life of Benjamin Franklin. Born in Boston, as a young man in 1723 he came to Philadelphia, because of its greater opportunities, and secured employment as a printer. Going to London to perfect himself as a printer, he there also learned the art of engraving and began to express his philosophical impressions in print. On his return to Philadelphia, he was soon able through energy and industry to establish a printing establishment and bookstore of his own. In 1728 he became part owner of *The Pennsylvania Gazette,* whose circulation was increased until it was said to have used most of the products of the near-by paper mills. The *Gazette* was the ancestor of the *Saturday*

Courtesy, James L. Helms

Franklin as a young man entering Philadelphia in 1723. Tait McKenzie, sculptor—Weightman Hall, University of Pennsylvania. Erected by Class of 1904 as an inspiration and example to aspiring youth.



Statue of Washington carved from wood by William Rush. Made as a figurehead for the *George Washington*, but purchased by the City of Philadelphia. One of the interesting exhibits in Independence Hall.

Evening Post, the most widely read and successful weekly publication of the present day. Franklin also in 1741 published the *General Magazine and Historical Chronicle,* the first magazine published in America. Progressing by various stages he became a leader in national as well as local affairs, and also the first American honored abroad by membership in learned societies and by degrees from foreign universities.

A list of his accomplishments seems almost like crowding the impossible into the lifetime of one man. His *Poor Richard's Almanack,* full of his own quaint sayings, reveals the philosophy of his life and was the first American literature to be widely quoted abroad. He engraved in Philadelphia the first paper money for use by the people in general, and on one occasion excused his absence from his office by saying he was busy in Burlington, New Jersey, "making money" for the people of that province. He was the author of the plan of union of the colonies presented at a conference held in Albany twenty-two years before Independence was declared. When the King of England made him Postmaster-General of all the colonies, both system and increasing promptness of the mails very soon appeared. He was one of America's most influential representatives in England and France at critical periods in our history. He made America's first important contributions to science by showing that lightning is electricity, and later that electricity is power that can be transmitted by wire. He was influential in the preparation of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. He was instrumental in opening the first public library in the colonies; and it was due to his initiative that the University of Pennsylvania and

the American Philosophical Society came into being. His activities continued until he was past eighty, when he was elected "president" of his adopted state. Though Franklin had his faults and was thoroughly human, as scientist, philosopher, and statesman he remains one of America's greatest contributions to the progress of the world.

Godfrey and Rittenhouse

Two others, who, in the earlier days added to the scientific contributions of the Valley of the Delaware, were Thomas Godfrey and David Rittenhouse. Thomas Godfrey was by trade a glazier. But he was no common glazier, for he devoted his leisure time to the study of mathematics and optics, and he was also one of the original members of the "Leather Apron Club" which later became the famous Junto Club. On one occasion, while doing some glazing at Stenton, a piece of broken glass reflected the sun in a manner that suggested to his fertile mind the possibility of making an instrument that would enable vessels at sea to determine their exact location at any specific time of day when the sun could be seen. He explained his idea to James Logan who at once saw the value of it. The result was the reflecting quadrant which goes under the name of Hadley who described it to the Royal Society of London. This scientific application of Godfrey's knowledge of optics and mathematics was one of the most valuable additions to marine progress that America has made. It was first used in the West India trade in 1731–32.

David Rittenhouse, grandson of the first American paper maker, was born in the Rittenhouse homestead

on the Wissahickon, April 8, 1732. Later the family removed to a farm near Norristown. The boy's predilection for mathematics and mechanics was so evident that he was permitted to start life as a clock maker instead of as a farmer. In this he developed great skill, especially in adding devices for providing information other than the mere time of the day. This turned his attention toward astronomy and, when he was but twenty-three, his combined knowledge of mathematics and astronomy enabled him to make an orrery which portrayed the exact movements of our planetary system. He soon thereafter became a valuable member of the American Philosophical Society and, in 1769, with several scientific friends, observed the transit of Venus occurring that year, from an observatory he had built and equipped at his home "Norriton," near Norristown. The Philosophical Society watched the same transit from an observatory they had erected in the State House yard. The calculations made by Rittenhouse from these observations brought him high recognition from abroad. In 1770 he removed to Philadelphia and served as State Treasurer during nearly the entire Revolutionary period.

Rittenhouse was the first director of the United States Mint and much of its early development was due to his knowledge and mechanical genius; but he had to resign in 1796 on account of ill health and died the following year. His versatility is revealed in the fact that, besides his mechanical skill and attainments in mathematics and astronomy, he was also acquainted with the theology and metaphysics of his day and was familiar with French, Dutch, and German. He was also a musician and well read in the standard literature of

his day.[1] It should be noted that Rittenhouse's observatory at Norriton was not the first one erected in America for purely scientific purposes. In 1763, when Mason and Dixon were employed to make the final survey for the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland, they established their observatory for securing the exact latitude of Philadelphia on the north side of a house at No. 30 Cedar (South) Street. This they found to be exactly 39° 43′ 32.18″ N. Lat., thus showing that Penn's capital had been located slightly south of the boundary line that was under dispute between the Penns and the Calverts.

American Philosophical Society

The benefits accruing from an interchange of thought with others that led to the forming of the Junto Club in 1727 suggested to its moving spirit, Benjamin Franklin, the advantages of a more pretentious organization. Hence, in 1743, he issued a circular entitled "A Proposal for Promoting Useful Knowledge Among the British Plantations in America." This led to the formation of "The American Philosophical Society" the following year and to the election of Franklin as its first president. Although the Junto Club was a small local affair and had been to a certain extent a gossipy social organization from which its members derived social and business as well as intellectual advantages, the Philosophical Society was from the beginning a dignified body of a wide membership of men distinguished in philosophy and science or for their progressive ideas. The Society has always welcomed opportunities to discuss and promote new ideas and proposi-

[1] Scharf & Westcott's *History of Philadelphia*, I, p. 264.

tions that have promised to be of economic, civic, or social benefit to mankind or of advantage in promoting the development of human thought and learning. Within a few years after its organization the Society had established an international reputation that has been worthily maintained for nearly two hundred years. The library of its venerable building on the east side of Independence Square is a veritable treasure house of the history of the advances in invention, thought, and learning during that time.

Franklin Institute

Nearly a century later (1824) the "Franklin Institute" was established for the more specific purpose of "the promotion and encouragement of manufacture & the mechanic and useful arts" through popular lectures, a museum and library, and by encouraging worthy projects presented for consideration by the Institute. Since its organization the Institute has attained a high standing with the allied departments of the Federal Government, as well as abroad, for its investigation of mechanical devices and scientific formulæ and for the encouragement and assistance rendered persons working on new discoveries that have promised to be of economic and scientific value. A few of the specific things of wide value that the Institute has accomplished have been: the organization of the Horticultural Society in 1827; the founding of the School of Design in 1850; the part it played in securing the Centennial Exhibition of world-wide progress in art and industry in Philadelphia in 1876; and the great impetus it gave to electrical progress by the exhibition it maintained in Philadelphia from December 1, 1883, to the

end of 1884. Its impressive new building, facing the Parkway at Twentieth Street in Philadelphia, contains a unique museum illustrative of progress along mechanical and scientific lines, and also a library and other opportunities of great value in research work.

Two other Philadelphia scientific organizations that have attained international as well as national recognition are the Academy of Natural Sciences and the Wagner Free Institute of Science. The former grew out of the interest in natural history of John Speakman, an apothecary, and Jacob Gilliams, a dentist. From humble beginnings over a millinery shop in 1812, in 1876 the Academy moved to its present quarters at Race and Nineteenth Streets. By that time the movement had secured the interest of some of the most noted naturalists at home and abroad and, among other things, a collection of shells and botanical specimens that is among the best to be found anywhere. Dr. Joseph Leidy, celebrated as a naturalist and physiologist and who was born in Philadelphia in 1823, became deeply interested in the work of the Academy, and the results of his investigations in comparative anatomy and fossil remains are to be found in the *Proceedings* of the Academy and the publications of the Smithsonian Institute at Washington.

The Wagner Free Institute of Science owes its establishment to the liberality of William Wagner and his wife. Mr. Wagner, while in the service of Stephen Girard, traveled extensively in America and in foreign lands. During these journeys he made valuable collections of minerals, shells, plants, and other things in which he had become interested. Feeling that he should share with others the benefits of his travels and

studies, he, in 1847, gave a series of lectures in his own home. These lectures proved so successful that they outgrew the accommodations of his home and various sites were then occupied until, through the desire of his wife, the present building on the site of their home at Seventeenth Street and Montgomery Avenue was completed. Under a revised charter secured in 1865 the Institute issues diplomas to those who have completed its courses.

Physicians

Philadelphia established quite early a reputation for able lawyers and for men eminent in the medical profession. The first systematic instruction in medicine in America was given in Philadelphia as a department of the College of Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania. The department was formally organized under John Morgan in 1765, and three years later graduated ten men, the first medical graduates from an American institution. The first physicians mentioned in the city were Thomas Wynne and Griffith Owen, both of whom "were well educated in medicine," and were among the earliest Quaker settlers. Among others noted in the early days were Dr. Thomas Graeme, after whom "Graeme Park," in Montgomery County was named; Dr. Thomas Cadwallader, who practiced in Trenton until 1750 when he removed to Philadelphia; Dr. Thomas Bond who, in collaboration with Franklin and others, in 1751 opened the first hospital in the city; Dr. William Shippen, to whom is credited the saying in regard to the work of physicians in general, "Nature does a good deal and the grave covers up our mistakes"; Dr. Benjamin Rush, who rendered

such devoted service during the yellow-fever epidemic of 1793, "going night and day and sometimes fainting from exhaustion"; Dr. George De Benneville, who lived until 1850; Dr. Caspar Wistar, of whom it was said he was "No less a good man than a learned one, no less a gentleman than a great physician";[1] Dr. Philip Syng Physick, born in Philadelphia 1768; and Dr. George McClellan, who came to the city in 1817 and to whom more than anyone else was due the founding of Jefferson Medical College in 1825.

These are but a few of the many who established a well-earned reputation for learning and skill, a reputation which became world-wide under the writings, the teaching, and the successes in practice of such men as Dr. Samuel D. Gross, born near Easton in 1805, and noted both as a surgeon and an instructor at Jefferson Medical College; Dr. Joseph Kirkbride, one of the greatest alienists in the profession; Dr D. Hayes Agnew, born in Lancaster County in 1818; Dr. Joseph Pancoast, born in Burlington County, New Jersey, in 1805; Dr. Jacob M. Da Costa; and Dr. Weir Mitchell, famous as an author as well as in medicine.

Lawyers

Although the members of the bar of the Valley of the Delaware quite early established a reputation for their ability, little has been recorded of the services of the earliest of them excepting as it is revealed from their political activities. "The Law Academy," established in Philadelphia in 1783, was the first school for general legal training opened in the United States, although William and Mary College in Virginia provided some

[1] Scharf & Westcott's *History of Philadelphia*, II, p. 1595.

Holy Trinity (Catholic) Church, Sixth and Spruce Streets, Philadelphia. Used by Longfellow as burial place of "Evangeline" because several Sisters of Charity are buried in its small graveyard.

Two famous old houses of Burlington, New Jersey. J. Fenimore Cooper was born in the one on the left; Captain David Lawrence, of "Don't give up the ship" fame, lived in the one on the right.

lectures on law in 1779. It should be remembered that a general knowledge of law was at one time regarded as a necessary part of the equipment of every well-educated person; hence, many of the early lectures on law formed part of a general classical course. This was especially true in England. A well-organized department of law was not established in the University of Pennsylvania until 1850; although in 1790 James Wilson had been elected "Professor of Law" and probably gave lectures of this general character. But the department he opened met with little encouragement, owing no doubt to the fact that prospective barristers in general got their legal training directly in the offices of members of the bar. In 1802 "The Law Library Company of Philadelphia" established a law library, the first in the country, and in 1827 it was associated with an organization known as "The Associated Members of the Bar," which had been formed in 1818 to improve rules of practice of the bar, to maintain the purity of professional practice, and to prevent unfair intrusion upon the ranks of the profession.[1]

Lawyers were not in favor with Penn and, although court trials were quite frequent, they very often ended with the decree that the parties to the dispute should shake hands and forgive each other and that the records of the trial should be burned.[2] But, even before the Revolution the metropolis of the colonies must have proved attractive and inspiring to legal talent, for the saying "That would puzzle a Philadelphia lawyer" seems to have originated quite early. We know that by 1735 the reputation of the veteran lawyer, Andrew

[1] Cf. Martin's *Bench and Bar of Philadelphia.*
[2] Cf. the records of the Provincial Council.

Hamilton, was such that he was called to New York to defend John Peter Zenger who had been imprisoned for libel. According to the careful investigations of the late John Frederick Lewis, himself a distinguished member of the bar for fifty years, Thomas Spry was the first attorney in the Valley of the Delaware, although he also practiced medicine. His first legal case was in 1643 when the doughty Gov. John Printz brought George Lamberton before a court held in Ft. Christina for his endeavors to incite the Indians against the Swedes.[1]

Among those who attained to more than local legal fame in the Valley were David Lloyd, made Attorney-General for Penn's province in 1686; James Logan, Penn's loyal secretary who, in 1731, became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania; William Allen, founder of Allentown, who became Chief Justice in 1750; Benjamin Chew, who first practiced in Dover, Delaware, removed to Philadelphia, 1754, and became Chief Justice in 1774; John Kinsey, who died in Burlington in 1750; William Tilghman, who came from Maryland in 1790 and in 1801 was made a judge of the United States District Court; Thomas McKean, who practiced in New Castle and was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence; John Dickinson, one of the leading characters of the Revolutionary period; Francis Hopkinson, born in Philadelphia, 1737, but who removed to Bordentown about 1772; Richard Stockton of Princeton, with whom Joseph Reed, one of the most distinguished men of his time, studied law; James Dallas and his gifted son George Mifflin Dallas; William Lewis, who studied law with Nicholas Waln; Richard Peters,

[1] Cf. *Thomas Spry, Lawyer and Physician* by John Frederick Lewis.

a member of the United States District Court for thirty-six years; John Sergeant, who was elected a member of Congress in 1815; Eli K. Price, born in Chester County, 1797, near where the Battle of Chadd's Ford was fought; Gouverneur Morris who, although born in New York, practiced law in Philadelphia for some years; Horace Binney, "the Nestor of the American bar," born in Philadelphia in 1780; Roberts Vaux and his distinguished son Richard Vaux, both of whom were interested in prison reform; David Paul Brown, distinguished editor of the *Forum;* and the Hon. Benjamin Harris Brewster, who served as Attorney-General of the United States.

Literature

The classics and the liberal arts were regarded generally by the early Friends as both useless and morally dangerous. Higher education was also regarded as adding nothing to a person's welfare, with a tendency to waste time in its pursuit that should be devoted to other things. And yet the Friends were not an illiterate people and, at the very beginning of their settlements, established and maintained schools for instruction in elementary subjects and the useful arts. Penn had been an Oxford student and he was well read and a prolific writer on religious subjects. His secretary, James Logan, would have graced any of the learned institutions of his day. Barclay and Keith were scholarly men and Enoch Flower was a noted schoolmaster as early as 1683.

William Bradford set up his printing press in Philadelphia in 1686 and may have been printing in Burlington the previous year. As early as 1693 William

Rittenhouse was making paper for the Bradford press. Bradford was energetic and, in addition to his other work, printed a *Burlington Almanac* and two issues of an almanac for Philadelphia;[1] and in 1688 he endeavored to secure enough subscribers to warrant printing "a large house-Bible." But he had dared to refer to Penn as "Lord Penn," and had published George Keith's controversial articles and the Charter and laws without permission though warned not to print anything "but what shall have Lycence from ye Council."[2] Failing, therefore, to receive the support he expected and being offered forty pounds a year to become public printer for New York, after eight years as a printer in Philadelphia, he removed to that place. However, the freedom of the press was less restricted, by both Church and state, in Pennsylvania than in the other colonies before a higher level of intelligence began to demand that education, literature, and the truth in all its bearings should be open to all.

Most of the publications of the press prior to the Revolution were of a religious character, although educational, medical, and legal treatises were already giving the valley, and especially Philadelphia, a preëminence which for a long time was maintained. Bradford probably retained an interest in his Philadelphia establishment, for in 1712 his son Andrew came back to that city and, on December 22, 1719, began the publication of *The American Weekly Mercury*. In 1722 Samuel Keimer came to Philadelphia and must have set up a press, for in 1725 he published an almanac prepared by

[1] *The Kalendarium Pennsilvaniense*, the first one issued five years after the settlement of Philadelphia.

[2] Cf. the record of a Provincial Council held 9th of 11th mo. 1685 (Jan., 1686).

Joseph Taylor. In 1728 he began to publish the newspaper which the next year fell into the hands of Benjamin Franklin and Hugh Meredith. They published it as the *Pennsylvania Gazette,* the name under which it continued until 1821 when it was changed to the *Saturday Evening Post.*

In 1739 Christopher Saur launched in Germantown the first German newspaper in the colonies and, in 1743, began the publication of his almanacs which became almost a second gospel to the German settlers of the colonies. Three years later, 1746, he issued the Bible in German. This was thirty-nine years before Robert Aitkin printed the first English edition in the country. In 1770 Saur printed the first work on pedagogy both written and printed in America. The author, Christopher Dock, is often referred to as "the pious schoolmaster of the Skippack." He had a well-developed plan for teaching elementary arithmetic and introduced into his school the teaching of music and the use of the blackboard.[1]

In 1784 the first daily newspaper in the country, *The American Daily Advertiser,* was issued in Philadelphia; in 1783 the *Price-Current,* the first American commercial newspaper, and in 1830 *The Cent,* the first penny paper, were issued in Philadelphia. The latter lived, however, for only two years, as its publisher, Christopher C. Conwell, died in 1832. Benjamin Franklin in 1741 began the publication of America's first magazine, *The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle;* and in 1813 *The Religious Remembrancer,* the first religious newspaper of the country, appeared. There were thirty-one publishing presses at work in

[1] Cf. Dr. M. G. Brumbaugh's *Christopher Dock.*

Philadelphia before the end of the eighteenth century, and they were keeping forty-eight paper mills in the valley busy.[1] Many of the standard works of foreign authors were being republished from time to time and—

> "So far as our country could be said to have a literary center at that time (1790 to 1850), it was Philadelphia. The enterprise of her publishers and the long period over which their enterprise extended, the character of the books they printed and her citizens read, justly entitles her to that distinction."[2]

Although Massachusetts by the middle of the nineteenth century was beginning to challenge the literary supremacy of Philadelphia, Ralph Waldo Emerson has said that "between 1790 and 1820 there was not a book, a speech, a conversation, or a thought produced in the State of Massachusetts." In fact, literature as a profession in America can scarcely be regarded as existing until the writings of Washington Irving began to receive recognition abroad, although Charles Brockden Brown, born in Philadelphia 1771, was devoting his entire time to writing a rather fantastic type of novels prior to that period.

From 1830 until the close of the Civil War Philadelphians were publishing annual literary volumes and had several widely circulated magazines in which appeared the maiden efforts of a number of authors who became prominent in the field of literature. Charles J. Peterson, for many years publisher of *Peterson's Magazine* and himself an author; Louis A. Godey, owner of *Godey's Lady's Book,* a monthly magazine established 1830 and the oldest of its class in America; and *Gra-*

[1] A list of the ones established prior to the Revolution is given in Thomas' *History of Printing.*

[2] McMaster's *History of People of United States,* Vol. V, p. 281.

ham's Magazine, first issued in 1837 as *The Gentlemen's Magazine and Monthly American Review,* not only kept the ladies informed in regard to the latest Paris fashions but also afforded many a budding author an opportunity to appear in print. Among these authors appear such noted names as William Cullen Bryant, J. Fenimore Cooper, Richard Henry Dana, James T. Field, Marion Harland, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Henry W. Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, Edgar Allan Poe, John Greenleaf Whittier, Lydia H. Sigourney, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Bayard Taylor, and N. P. Willis—a galaxy of literary effort never since equaled. George R. Graham, after he came into possession of *Graham's Magazine* in 1840, offered what was regarded at that time as especially liberal pay for contributions and his magazine was therefore popular with young writers.

Poe was an assistant editor of this magazine before it came into the possession of Mr. Graham and a contributor to its pages afterwards. His home for several years was at 530 North Seventh Street. The building now houses the Edgar Allan Poe Club and contains an interesting collection of Poe relics. James Fenimore Cooper was born in a house still standing in Burlington, New Jersey, although the family several years later moved to the lake region of New York, where he got the vivid impressions of frontier life that have made his *Leatherstocking Tales* so famous. Lowell and his wife spent six months of their honeymoon in Philadelphia in a house still standing (1933) at the northeast corner of Fourth and Arch Streets, and overlooking the corner of the churchyard where Franklin, his wife, and an infant son lie buried. This view, no doubt, suggested the poem, "The Ghost-seer," which Lowell wrote at that time.

The antislavery movement in which he had become deeply interested, brought Whittier to Philadelphia in 1837 as editor of the *Pennsylvania Freeman.* His office was at first in the "Pennsylvania Hall," on Sixth Street, below Race, built for "free discussion"; but so great was the antagonism at that time to all antislavery movements that the hall was burned by a mob on the night of May 17 of the same year. Whittier, however, chose another office building and continued there his fearless efforts against slavery for more than two years. Although he returned to his home in Massachusetts, his interest in the antislavery movement brought him back to the valley on several occasions, and his intimate friendships there continued to the time of his death.

Two of the native authors of the Valley of the Delaware who attracted widest attention during the middle period of the nineteenth century were Bayard Taylor and "the artist-poet," Thomas Buchanan Read. The published travels of the former, whose home, "Cedarcroft," still stands near Kennett Square, brought him his greatest fame, although his novels, especially his *Story of Kennett,* proved attractive because of their local color. T. B. Read is probably best remembered by his *Sheridan's Ride* and his *Wagoner of the Alleghenies, a Poem of the Days of Sixty-six.*

Although previous to the Revolutionary period men were busy clearing farms, opening roads, assuring themselves of comfort, and building up towns, over 600 works had already been published in Philadelphia and near-by towns. Most of these, as has been stated, were either republications of English works or were of a religious character. But during the ten years previous to

the Revolution and for fifteen years afterwards there appeared in the Valley of the Delaware articles on government, state papers, and pamphlets on public questions which McMaster claims have never been excelled by any people. Franklin, Dickinson, Paine, Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, and John Adams were the authors of most of these. But, strongly Quaker as was the region in its government, the drama had also already received attention; for Thomas Godfrey, the brilliant son of the inventor of the reflecting quadrant, as early as 1760 had written *The Prince of Parthia,* a tragedy which although never acted was of distinct merit. This was the first drama both written and printed in America. Soon after the Revolution William Dunlap began to write and translate dramas, and Robert M. Bird, who was born in New Castle, Delaware, wrote several tragedies that attracted more than local attention.

Other literature of a more general character also now appeared. Noah Webster, of spelling book and dictionary fame, in 1787 was principal of the Episcopal Academy in Philadelphia. In the early part of the nineteenth century Tench Coxe wrote able articles on political economy and Mason L. Weems, when not busy canvassing for the energetic publisher, Mathew Carey, was writing books about Penn, Franklin, and Francis Marion that were little more reliable historically than "the cherry-tree story" in his *Life of George Washington.* Later in the century John S. Hart was writing on literature and education; Timothy S. Arthur was fighting intemperance through books of the type of his *Ten Nights in a Barroom;* Eliza Leslie was proving herself popular with female readers; and George Lip-

pard was writing the novels that embody the romances of the Wissahickon region. About the same time Charles J. Stille, one time Provost of the University of Pennsylvania and always interested in the Historical Society of the state, was writing his excellent books on government and historical subjects; Samuel A. Allibone was at work on his *Dictionary of Authors;* Charles G. Leland and George W. Boker were writing worthwhile poetry; Henry Charles Lea was engaged on his authoritative church histories; Charles Heber Clark was making the people laugh through his *Out of the Hurly-Burly* and *Elbow Room,* and Dr. Horace Howard Furness had begun his scholarly *Variorum Shakespeare.*

Before the end of the century (1892) Walt Whitman, "the good gray poet," had died in his modest Camden home. Although he wrote the irregular type of verse characteristic of the earliest poetic forms and was fond of dealing with the commonplace, his imagination had a vigor which gave added interest to all he touched. But he was not always at his best, and, when the tide of his imagination was out, his verse became "machinery of the most ponderous kind."[1] The German press had also made important contributions to the literature of the valley; but their publications were in German and only intended for their own people in the country and had "little influence beyond that." Within recent years, however, several collections of Pennsylvania-German poetry have appeared and have attracted wide attention because of the lively pictures they present of the quaint customs, superstitions, and inner life of the German farmers of the Delaware and Susquehanna valleys.[2]

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[1] Mabie's *Backgrounds of Literature,* p. 231.
[2] Cf. Faust's *The German Element in the United States,* II, pp. 339–341.

Such is a brief and very incomplete review of the earlier literary development of this region—a development which is apt to be lost sight of in the flood of literature poured forth all over our country from the high-tension presses of our day.

Music

Although music formed part of the Swedish Lutheran and Dutch Reformed services, it at first in the Valley of the Delaware had to struggle against the strong prejudices of the Quakers and others who regarded it as a vain amusement. The Quakers in Yearly Meeting in 1716 classed music with plays, games, lotteries, and dancing, against all of which members were advised to be aware. But, as music had its origin in the religious feelings of mankind, through the church it finally won its way even to the extent of convincing its enemies that secular as well as religious music is not hostile to either the spiritual or the civic life. In this struggle for favor the Anglican and the Catholic churches played an important part, although the Moravians probably did more than any other religious body to develop interest in music of a high type and to make religious music a part of the daily life. Their sacred chants had made them bold to meet their ancient enemies in Bohemia and firm under persecution when it came to them there and in Germany; and when they entered the wilderness at Bethlehem and Nazareth, it was with songs of rejoicing for the way in which they had been led into a land of peace.

This same love for music was found among the Moravian settlers in Philadelphia and elsewhere, although it found its fullest expression in Bethlehem which was

then the Moravian ecclesiastical center and completely under Moravian control. Philip H. Goepp has said:

> "In the eighteenth century, when Philadelphia easily surpassed New York in musical culture, the highest musical activity in the country existed in Bethlehem."[1]

Besides the pipe organ the Moravians also used brass and stringed instruments in their services. Religious holidays were ushered in by trombone quartets and even the dead were carried to their graves to the accompaniment of solemn music. No important movement in the community life which they at first adopted was undertaken without music that was regarded as appropriate to the occasion and often composed for it. Able composers and leaders naturally developed from this general love for music, as well as choirs, choruses, and orchestras noted for their interpretation of masters of the art. The world at large learns of these through the Bach Musical Festival held annually in Bethlehem.

The German immigrants in general have always brought with them a love for music that has found expression not only in musical organizations in every center where they have settled in large numbers, but it has also added a note of gladness to their home life as well as fervor to their church life. The Baptist and Reformed churches used hymns in their services, as did also the German Lutheran and the Swedish churches. The Mystics on the Wissahickon were noted for their chanting and the community at Ephrata, with which they seem to have been closely allied, was well developed both in the composition and practice of music. Although the Presbyterians employed a precentor to

[1] *Music in Philadelphia and the Musical Fund Hall,* by Philip H. Goepp, p. 24.

line out the hymns and he was regarded as almost as important a personage as the preacher, their church music consisted of metrical versions of the Psalms which were almost as dolefully sung as were the reputed efforts of the Puritans in their New England meeting-houses. Like the Friends, the Presbyterians regarded an organ as "a box of whistles"; and their antipathy to the use of an organ in church is well indicated in the reply of a preacher who, when called on to pray after the choir and organ had been heard, cried out:

> "Call on the machine! If it can sing and play to the glory of God, it can pray to the glory of God also. Call on the machine!"

About the middle of the eighteenth century evidences began to appear of a desire for something different in the way of amusement than the racing and other sports, which were often rough and cruel, and a dancing "Assembly" and an association for musical purposes were formed in Philadelphia. "Prominent men, most of them from the Church of England," were back of these movements.[1] Advertisements also began to appear for teaching the violin, hautboy, flute, and dulcimer. Then also appeared music as an important part of the dramatic performances, the first of which was in 1749. In these performances most of the leading men at first came from England. This was also true of the early organists of Philadelphia. Of these Benjamin Carr, who had been well educated in music in England, came to Philadelphia in 1793. Carr was a composer as well as an organist, and joining his efforts with those of Charles P. Hupfeld, a violinist who as a boy had im-

[1] Goepp's *Music in Philadelphia and the Musical Fund Hall*, p. 26.

bibed some of the best German traditions, they did a great deal toward developing the taste for music and in giving Philadelphia its early prominence in musical affairs. Benjamin Cross, born in Philadelphia in 1786, added to this prominence and as a famous baritone had his portrait painted by Thomas Sully.

Various musical organizations were formed in Philadelphia between 1787 and 1824, several of which attained more than local fame. The greatest and most permanent of these was "The Musical Fund Society" which had its inception in 1820. The first concert given by this society was in 1821, three years before its building, still standing on Locust Street near Seventh, was completed. In the main auditorium of this building, noted for its perfect acoustic properties, have appeared Mme. Malibran, whose troupe in 1827 was the first to appear in Italian opera in the United States; Ole Bull, the famous Norwegian violinist, who appeared in 1845; Jenny Lind, who gave two concerts in the hall in 1850; Mme. Sontag who was in Philadelphia in 1852; that same year Adelina Patti, then but eight years old and who was advertised as a "musical phenomenon"; and Giulia Grisi and Giuseppe Mario, who appeared together in Italian opera in Musical Fund Hall in 1855.

Grisi and Mario also appeared in the Walnut Street Theater; but the fact that neither place was entirely suitable for such performances led to the launching of a movement that culminated in the erection of the Academy of Music at Broad and Locust Streets in 1857. In this building have been heard the most noted musicians and musical compositions, as well as most of the noted orators during the period when great men found it to advantage to present their thoughts on the platform

rather than in the printed page. The Academy has also been the home of the symphony concerts for which Philadelphia has been so justly famous. It was the main center for all great gatherings prior to 1908 when the Metropolitan Opera House at Broad and Poplar Streets began to share in that honor. The Eleventh Street Opera House, which stood on Eleventh Street above Chestnut, was the first in the country to make Negro minstrelsy popular. It was opened in 1855. The Germans have gained prominence in these musical developments through the "Männerchor Music Society," founded in 1835, and the "Young Männerchor Society" and the "Germania Musical Society," both established within recent years.

Art and Artists

There is a love of imitation inherent in human nature which leads the savage as well as the civilized child to endeavor to portray what he sees or hears. Form and color also possess a natural charm that leads to something more than their mere utility and which entices to their use in decorative effects in line and pigment. Such representations, forms, and designs may not in their cruder stages represent true art, excepting in so far as the visible reproduction of what is in the artist's mind corresponds to the thing he endeavors to portray. In the higher manifestations of art the artist is not limited to what he sees in either nature or the work of others. Working along the lines that nature or convention has laid down, he transcends their bounds and passes into the ideal. Hence a painting, a statue, a memorial group, or a decorative effect "is only a work of art in so

far as it is the embodiment of, or representation of, an art ideal."[1]

From the broader standpoints of art it is not easy to determine when the development of an artistic sense began in America; for the Indians of the Southwest are known to have possessed it in a marked degree and there have been evidences of an appreciation of form and decoration among the Indians of the Valley of the Delaware. The Germans brought with them from the valley of the Rhine germs of decorative art which, though crude, kept alive during an otherwise unfavorable period about the only pronounced art instincts seen in America. The puritanical spirit of New England and the drab monotony of the Quaker régime were not at all favorable to the development of art. But with the increase of wealth, soon after the beginning of the eighteenth century portrait artists from England and France began to appear. And there are still well-preserved specimens of their work in possession of some of the older families of the valley, although in most cases the name of the artist is unknown. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania possesses two of these interesting early portraits by known artists—one of James Logan and the other of Gov. Patrick Gordon.

In his *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design,* William Dunlap says that there were few artists in the country prior to 1751. In addition to portraiture some of these early artists resorted to sign painting for taverns, both as a media for artistic expression and to earn a livelihood. Even such gifted artists as Gilbert Stuart did tavern sign painting; hence some of these signs revealed great artistic merit,

[1] Cf. Perry's *Greek and Roman Sculpture,* pp. 1–3.

although most of them were the work of mere novices. One of the oldest pictorial relics in the valley is Peter Cooper's *View of Philadelphia,* painted in 1730. It is owned by the Philadelphia Library Company and is of historic interest although it possesses no artistic merit. This is also true of several old tavern signs in the museum of the Delaware County Historical Society in Chester.

Benjamin West, who was born in a house still standing on the campus of Swarthmore College, began to paint portraits in Philadelphia in 1753 and five years later removed to New York. From there he went to London where he was received with such favor that he never returned to his native land and lies buried in St. Paul's Cathedral in London. West stood in high favor with George III, although he was such a staunch patriot that he suffered a temporary eclipse during the Revolutionary period. His interest in his native region is partly indicated in his large painting of *Penn's Treaty with the Indians* and in the copy of *Christ Healing the Sick* that he presented to the Philadelphia Hospital; but even more fully was it demonstrated in the encouragement and aid which he rendered so freely to struggling young American artists.

Charles Wilson Peale, who probably more than any other artist of the eighteenth century led in the development of a taste for art in America, was born in Chestertown, Maryland, in 1741. He had great mechanical skill and was a born collector; but his artistic tastes afforded his genius its fullest means of expression. He studied under West for nearly four years in London but came back to America and took up his residence in Philadelphia in 1776. Being a patriot as well as a

painter, he joined Washington's forces and took part in the battles at Trenton and Germantown. But his fame rests upon his portraits of Washington, whom he painted repeatedly; his portraits of the patriots and officers of the Revolution, whom he knew intimately, and of such noted men as Clay, Calhoun, and John Quincy Adams, whom he portrayed while on an extended visit to the city of Washington.

Peale's fame rests also on the museum he founded in Philadelphia, one of the earliest and best in the country; on the series of instructive popular lectures he established in connection with his museum; and on his efforts to establish as early as 1791 an association for the study of art. This art association was finally established in 1805, the first of the kind in the United States. The following year this association erected a fine building of classic design on Chestnut Street where Chestnut Street Opera House now stands. This was the beginning of the Academy of Fine Arts, the first school for the exclusive study of art in the United States, and a splendid fulfilment of Peale's desire to make Philadelphia an important "seat of art and science in America." Having outgrown its accommodations, the corner stone of the present ornate structure on Broad Street was laid in 1872. Peale had several gifted sons, the most noted being Rembrandt who also painted several portraits of Washington, one of which is in the Capitol at Washington.

The famous portrait painter, Gilbert Stuart, came to Philadelphia in 1794 being anxious to portray Washington, although he is said to have been the only person in whose presence he felt any embarrassment. Stuart was also a pupil of West's and lived in his family

for some years. His portrait work began in England where it attracted attention in the exhibitions of the Royal Academy. He established his first studio in Philadelphia at Fifth and Chestnut Streets and painted several of his famous portraits of Washington at that place. But he was so much annoyed by visitors that he finally removed to Germantown. When Congress removed to Washington, he also went to that city and his final work, a portrait of John Quincy Adams, was undertaken there when he was seventy-four years of age. He was able to finish only the head, the remainder being completed by Thomas Sully. Stuart is said to have been an indolent man and industrious only by fits, "loving pleasure, fond of society in which he was hailed as a most agreeable companion, whose conversation sparkled with wit and humor." But he was easily stirred to anger and, when he learned of the etchings made without his consent from his famous Lansdowne Portrait of Washington, he through his violent temper estranged himself from the Binghams, then the leaders in Philadelphia society. As a result of his indolence and irascible temper, he never amassed the wealth his skill should have brought him and died poor in Boston in 1828.

Thomas Sully, one of America's most famous portrait painters, came to America with his father's family in 1792. He was then but nine years old but showed such a fondness for drawing that he was later given instruction by Gilbert Stuart, and finally succeeded in getting to London where he received many helpful suggestions from Benjamin West, the loyal friend of young artists. Returning to America he took up his residence in Philadelphia where he devoted himself almost exclusively to

portrait painting, although he also did some historical and imaginative work. His *Capture of Major André; Washington Crossing the Delaware,* now in the Boston Museum; his *Pylades and Orestes*; and his *Lady of the Lake* bear evidence of this. Two of his most noted portraits are the full-length portrait of Thomas Jefferson, painted in 1821 for the Military Academy at West Point, and his portrait of Queen Victoria, painted from royal sittings in 1838 for the Society of St. George of Philadelphia. It has been said of his portraits that they are not only artistic but that there was a magic touch in his pencil that embellished what it reproduced on the canvas without departing too far from the truth.[1] Sully died in his home on Fifth Street above Chestnut in 1872.

Other noted Philadelphia artists of the early days were: Benjamin Trott, a noted painter of miniatures who came to Philadelphia with Gilbert Stuart in 1794; Robert Fulton, who for a short time painted portraits in Philadelphia but whose mechanical genius soon drew him off to the field of invention; Alexander Wilson, who won a place for himself in the temple of art by his portraiture of birds for his *American Ornithology*; Thomas Birch, who came to Philadelphia about 1800 and received recognition for his landscapes and marine views and for several pictures of sea fights during the War of 1812; John Nagle, who married a daughter of Thomas Sully's and who, according to Dunlap, deserved high rank as a portrait painter; George Catlin, who started as a painter of miniatures but, in the early 1820's, turned his attention to paint-

[1] Cf. the Preface of the *Memorial Exhibition of Portraits by Thomas Sully* held at the Academy of Fine Arts in 1922. As portraiture paid relatively well in the early days, most of the artists attempted it, although few of them disdained sign painting to add to their incomes.

ing Indian chiefs and scenes in Indian life; William Russell Birch, who came to Philadelphia from England in 1794 and turned to good account his taste for architectural drawing and his knowledge of the engraver's art by preparing twenty-eight "Views of the City of Philadelphia" in 1800; and David Edwin who came in 1797 and of whom Dunlap says that he was the first good engraver of the human countenance that appeared in this country.

John Sartain, who introduced mezzotint engraving in this country in 1828, was an untiring worker both in his art and for the promotion of a widespread and intelligent interest in art. His daughter Emily was for many years the principal of the noted School of Design, established in the house on North Broad Street built by the tragedian Edwin Forrest. Sartain not only designed the present Academy of Fine Arts building in Philadelphia but for many years was one of its most influential managers. The name of James L. Claghorn also stands out as one of its prominent presidents. A list of the worthy patrons of art in the valley would include many other noted names.

A list of others who attained fame in the past in etching or in water colors would include the names of William T. Richards, Peter F. Rothermal, Paul Weber, Charles E. Dana, Peter Moran, James Hamilton, Herman Herzog, and Samuel B. Waugh; and in the more remote past Samuel Leach, a London engraver who located in Philadelphia in 1741, and the famous engraver, Robert Aitkin, whose studio was opposite the London Coffee House in 1777.

At the head of the list of sculptors in the earlier days should stand the name of William Rush, who by 1800

had established a well-earned reputation as a carver and sculptor in wood. His statue of Washington in Independence Hall is not as well known as it deserves to be; and his figureheads for ships were almost as popular abroad as at home. Benjamin H. Latrobe said of these figureheads:

> "There is a motion in his figures that is inconceivable. They seem rather to draw the ship after them than to be impelled by the vessel. Many are of exquisite beauty. I have not seen one on which there is not the stamp of genius."

His realistic, life-size figure of "Christ on the Cross," carved for the Church of St. Augustine and which was destroyed when that church was burned by a mob during the anti-Catholic riots of 1844, is said to have been unexcelled by the best work of foreign artists in wood. Two of his carvings were purchased by Edwin Forrest and are in the rooms of the School of Design. The French sculptor, Houdin, although only a visitor to this country, executed two of his masterpieces for America. One of these was his bust of Benjamin Franklin and the other the splendid statue of Washington made from a plaster cast and exact measurements for the capitol at Richmond, Va. An exact replica of the latter stands near the chapel at Valley Forge.

Loredo Taft in his criticism of modern sculptors places "novelty" as one of their primary aims, being influenced in his judgment, no doubt, by the work of such artists as Rodin, a splendid assemblage of whose work is to be found in the *Rodin Museum* on the Parkway, Philadelphia. He makes an exception, however, of the work of such sculptors as Frederick K. Macmonnies, whose "Washington Group" is in Princeton and which reveals "the sore-perplexed but ever-resolute

leader" in an "apotheosis which will gratify and thrill all who look upon this exalted characterization." He also praises the work of Philadelphia's own sculptor, R. Tait McKenzie, whose *Benjamin Franklin as a Youth Entering Philadelphia* and statue of *Whitefield*, both belong to the University of Pennsylvania. Of the latter Taft has said:

> "Here again subject and costume lend themselves most perfectly to a picturesque result which the artist has with admirable taste made statuesque as well."[1]

The valley also had several noted architects in the early days; although later, like the rest of the country, it suffered the blight of the mansard roof and had a surfeit of the "Queen Anne front and Mary Ann back" type of architecture in its private dwellings. One of the first of these noted architects was Robert Smith who designed Carpenters' Hall, erected in 1770.[2] Benjamin H. Latrobe came to Philadelphia in 1798 and became the designer of several of its public buildings, as well as the engineer for its first waterworks. He afterwards went to Washington and was the genius in the construction of some of its first public buildings. One of his students, William Strickland, became the most noted American architect of his time. He designed the building for the United States Bank, now the Customs House; the old Chamber of Commerce, Third and Walnut Streets; and the second United States Mint, which stood at the northwest corner of Juniper and Chestnut Streets; as well as several of the finer old church buildings.

The history of the progress of art in the United States

[1] *Modern Tendencies in Sculpture*, by Loredo Taft, p. 142.
[2] But not entirely completed until 1792.

is naturally closely allied with that of the various art associations and the museums that have fostered its development. In these Philadelphia has taken a leading part. The first of the art associations in the city was "The Columbianum," arranged for in 1794 by Charles Wilson Peale for the exhibition and encouragement of art; and the second was "The Society of the Artists of the United States," organized in 1810 just four years after the Academy of Fine Arts had secured its charter. These were followed by other associations of artists in 1839, 1843, and 1879. But the instruction afforded by the Academy of Fine Arts together with the exhibitions of art held in it from time to time, and the permanent exhibitions maintained in the various museums in Philadelphia and other parts of the valley have furnished the greatest incentives for an understanding and appreciation of art.

The Centennial Exhibition in 1876 had a marked influence; and Memorial Hall, kept as a permanent part of that exhibition, has continued the good work for visitors as well as regular students of art. In Philadelphia the University Museum and the Commercial Museum have maintained well-ordered displays of foreign as well as ancient art; and the collections gradually being assembled in such places as Chester, Camden, Doylestown, Reading, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Easton are furnishing opportunity for the study of the development of economic and social art. Philadelphia has now also the fine industrial museum of the Franklin Institute and, above all, the general Art Museum which stands Acropolis-like on a high rocky bank of the Schuylkill, at the end of the Parkway, to draw art students and lovers of art from all parts of the world.

Chapter XIII

RELIGION

It is not easy for us in these days of well-established creeds to appreciate the confusion of mind naturally attending the breaking away from the long established tenets and practices of the Catholic Church that occurred in the early part of the sixteenth century. We can, however, understand that different policies during the resulting upheaval would be adopted by the ruling powers according to their relations with Rome, and that the acceptance of the teachings of the newly opened Bible by the common people would be as varied as the knowledge and "visions" of their accepted leaders. As H. G. Wells has so well emphasized, what we know as the Reformation quite early assumed a a threefold aspect. With the princes it took the form of a religious authority which either accepted or set up opposition to the rule of the Pope; within the Catholic Church itself, leaders like St. Francis of Assisi launched campaigns to restore its spiritual health and through that its power; and in the hands of the people the Bible became either a mystery to be interpreted by scholars and those claiming mystical powers, or a literal guide of life by all who were more impressed by the inspiring teachings of Jesus in the Gospels than by the mysteries of the Song of Solomon, Daniel, and the Book of Revelation of St. John the Divine.[1]

[1] Cf. Wells' *Outline of History*, 3d ed., p. 721.

Naturally a great variety of views, some of which were strange and even grotesque, arose. The only wonder is that there were not more during this period of intellectual and spiritual awakening. In England a compromise was effected between Church and state that resulted in the Church of England. Among the Swedes, the Germans, and the Dutch, Protestantism at first centered around the Augsburg Confession as it was drafted by Luther; but, being modified by Melancthon, it then became variously applied as foundations for the Lutheran and the Reformed faiths; or, as more or less literally interpreted, the Bible furnished the foundations for the numerous sectarians so whole-heartedly welcomed to his province by William Penn. Penn himself was a Quaker, a follower of George Fox, an uneducated but devout man who taught that the "inner light," which would be vouchsafed in adequate degree to everyone who sincerely desired to be good, would be a sufficient guide to righteousness and needed neither an educated interpreter nor formulated creed, nor yet even the Scriptures, although a reverent study of them could be very helpful. This tender conscience or inner light could be the possession equally of all regardless of race, color, or position; hence, Quakerism was the most democratic form that Protestantism up to that time had taken.

It was in marked contrast to the theocratic union of Church and state which for a time hindered the progress of free thought in Massachusetts, and which at one period debarred four fifths of the voters from partaking of the Lord's Supper and therefore from sharing in the government; it countenanced none of the autocratic acts of the governors of New York who forbade Catho-

lics to enter the province, persecuted Quakers and, even as late as 1735, made it possible to imprison an editor for daring to criticize the government; it was even freer than the Toleration Act of Maryland which, while it permitted all religions, did not prevent making disbelief in the doctrine of the Trinity a crime punishable by death.

It always interferes with progress to curb or weed out "men and women who are bold and bright enough to do their own thinking."[1] In this respect Pennsylvania and Delaware were fortunate in Quaker domination during the first seventy-five years of their growth; and West Jersey was fortunate for the same reason for almost an equal period. However, "Pennsylvania and Delaware were the only colonies in which all Christian sects stood socially and politically on an equal footing."[2] To be sure, there was plenty of religious controversy going on there, as might be expected where there were so many sects each seeking converts and feeling called upon to defend its own beliefs; but it never reached the stage of persecution witnessed in some of the other colonies. Hence, Voltaire was justified in referring to Pennsylvania, of which Delaware was then a part, as the one favored country where people could be devoutly religious and yet refrain from tearing one another's throats.

Amandus Johnson[3] says that one of the first buildings erected by Peter Minuit at Christinaham (now Wilmington) was undoubtedly a place for worship, and that it is certain that three years later, 1641, a chapel was erected there outside the fort, in order to be able to

[1] Fiske's *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, II, p. 97.
[2] Fiske's *The Critical Period in American History*, p. 80.
[3] Cf. *History of New Sweden* by Amandus Johnson.

accommodate the number of communicants gathered together under the ministrations of the Rev. Reorus Torkillus, who had come from Sweden with the first settlers. These were the days when religion was taken seriously and even freebooters would not venture on a voyage without asking the blessing of Heaven on their expedition. We know there was a house of worship at Governor Printz' settlement on Tinicum Island, near Chester, in 1643; for, in reply to a letter written by him April 12 of that year, he is admonished by the Swedish authorities to "decorate" (furnish) the "little church after the Swedish manner." This little church was burned when the fort was destroyed in 1645; but its bell, brought over in 1644, evidently was saved and used on a second building erected, and then finally found its way to Wicaco where it was placed on the "Old Swedes" of Philadelphia. Such was the tendency of the times toward visible moral instruction that when the metal of this old bell was used, in 1806, in casting another bell it was made to bear as part of its inscription: "I To The Church The Living Call And To The Grave Do Summon All."

The Christinaham congregation later worshiped at "Cranehook," near the mouth of the Christina where "a house of Divine worship" was erected in 1667.[1] This Cranehook church also served the worshipers of New Castle, although a small wooden church (Dutch Reformed) is known to have been built there before 1676. At a meeting of the court held in New Castle in January of that year it was ordered:

> "That the Church or place of meeting for Divine worship in this Towne & the affaires thereunto belonging be Regulated

[1] Ferris' *Original Settlements on the Delaware*, p. 41.

by the Court herein as orderly & decently as may bee." At the same time it was ordered: "that the Place for meeting att Craine Creek [Cranehook] do continue; as heretofore. That the Church at Tinnecum Island do serve for uppland and Parts adjacent. And whereas there is no church or place of meeting higher upp the River than the said Island, for the greater ease & convenience of the Inhabitants there, It's ordered that the magestrats of uppland do cause a church or place of meeting for that purpose to be built at wickegoo [Wiccaco], the wch to bee for the Inhabitants of Passayunk & so upwards. The s^{d} Court being empowered to Raize a Tax for itts Building, & to agree uppon a competent maintenance for their minister, of all wich they are to give an acc^{t} to the next general Court, and they to the Governo^{r} for his approbacon."

But, instead of building a church at Wicaco, the blockhouse that had been erected for possible defense against the Indians seems to have been fitted up as its meetinghouse.

Although, judging from the character of some of their ministers, these early religious services could not always have been edifying, the Swedes do not seem to have been without a minister until in 1692 when, for a period of five years, Divine services appear to have languished. But then came over the energetic Rev. Eric Biorck and the scholarly Rev. Andrew Rudman and the two Gloria Deis ("Old Swedes"), the first in Wilmington in 1699, the second in Philadelphia in 1700, were erected and remain as venerable landmarks of the early days. Both had widely scattered congregations. The Rev. Rudman paid a well-deserved tribute to his congregation by declaring that some of them had as much as sixteen miles to walk or ride to church. And it was a common practice to carry rifles with them on these

trips through the forests. This is said to have been especially the case at Wicaco, where the rifles were stacked in the corner of the blockhouse.

The history of the church buildings, ministers, and religious services in the Valley of the Delaware before the arrival of Penn is largely that of the other colonies. Excepting in Pennsylvania and Delaware after the arrival of Penn, the Church had not yet been entirely divorced from the state and we find the courts, the councils, and the governors all taking a hand in the management of religious affairs. The action of the court in New Castle has already been mentioned; and in New York, where the articles of capitulation to the English in 1664 expressly stated that there should be liberty of conscience, in 1672 the Court of Assigns ordered

> "that ye law be attended [observed] but although persons bee of different judgments, yet all are to contribute to ye allowed minister"—i.e., allowed by the authorities.[1]

In most communities, even outside of theocratic Massachusetts, the minister was usually the leading character and consulted on civil as well as religious matters. He was nearly always also the schoolmaster. This was partly a matter of necessity in the days when the young were diligently schooled in the catechism which, of course, they could not be if unable to read.

But it was not always easy to get worthy ministers to come or to remain under the primitive conditions. It was a day when liquor flowed freely and even ministers were not always free from its degrading influence. In Virginia, where the Church of England was the

[1] This was during the autocratic though not intentionally oppressive rule of Governor Lovelace and before the end of the year when the Dutch recaptured New York.

generally accepted faith, the legislature found it necessary to pass special laws prohibiting their clergymen from drunkenness and riotous living.[1] At the funeral of the wife of a noted New England divine enough Malaga wine is said to have been drunk to float the proverbial battleship.[2] And entirely too many of both ministers and schoolmasters in the early history of the Valley of the Delaware "loved their cups." Taverns were not held in the disrepute that was made to cling to them after the beginning of the temperance movement. Even religious meetings were often held in them owing to the conveniences they afforded to persons coming from a long distance. In 1677 one of the Monthly Meetings of the Friends of the Chester Meeting was held at the house of Walter Fawcett of Ridley, who had recently been authorized to keep an "ordinary" (an inn).[3]

Like the Friends, many of the German sects did not regard specially trained preachers as a necessity. While in New England learning was regarded as necessary for a proper interpretation of the Bible, among the Quakers and the Sectarians of the Valley of the Delaware "a gift for explaining the Word" was regarded as a sign of fitness to serve as leaders and speakers; and among the Friends, then as now, these leaders and speakers included women as well as men. Such preachers, being without salary, had to get their living from other occupations. The Rev. Mr. Wack, who served a West Jersey congregation, being musical, taught a singing school, and, being energetic, carried on farming and also ran an oil and fulling mill operated by a stream

[1] Fiske's *The Critical Period in American History*, II, p. 80.
[2] Bigelow's *History of the Silver of the Colonies*, p. 145.
[3] Smith's *History of Delaware County, Pennsylvania*, p. 165.

on his farm. That the early churches were conducted along economical lines is evident from the fact that their interiors were usually bare and lacking in comfort. People sometimes brought their own chairs and, even as late as the end of the eighteenth century, many persons not only built their own pews but also either purchased or paid a rental for the space they occupied. A church record of "Old St. David's" at Radnor, in 1754, shows that the sum of four pounds ten shillings had been received from Samuel McCue "for the ground of a Pugh in the said church," whereon he had already built his pew. A record of the same church, in 1788, shows that the wardens both built and sold pews and that the resulting revenue was used in part payment of the rector's salary, which at that time was fifty pounds per year.

That the members of Pennsylvania churches believed that their right "to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences" included the right not to be disturbed during their services by passing horses, vehicles, or even pedestrians, is indicated in a law passed by the Assembly in 1798 permitting churches to chain off the streets running by their buildings during services on the Sabbath. Few of the churches had organs, and hymn books were scarce; hence the practice of "lining out the hymns" was common. In the early Presbyterian Churches this was done by the "precentor" who stood on a low platform, usually beneath the high pulpit, with a tuning fork in his hand and repeated, two lines at a time, the metrical version of the Psalms then in common use, especially by the Scotch Presbyterians. He then "raised the tune," as the leader of the congregation, as the two lines were sung. This plan was followed by another two lines to the end of

the hymn. Ludicrous mistakes, which were usually a severe test of the risibilities of the younger members of the congregation, sometimes followed when unfamiliar lines were presented. The Episcopalians (Church of England), the Moravians, and the Catholics quite early used organs and had choirs. The Moravians, as has been noted, used freely other musical instruments besides organs in their services. Most church buildings were at first unheated and foot warmers (made of perforated tin and containing live coals) and ample wraps were needed by those who suffered from the cold. Evening services were seldom held owing to the danger of traveling at night and the meager means of providing light.

The great variety of sects that had arisen under differences of interpretation of the words of the Bible and their contexts by scholarly men, and the great range of meaning and emphasis placed upon the teachings of Christ and the Apostles by the leaders of the literalists —all found the complete separation of Church and state in the Valley of the Delaware, especially in Pennsylvania and Delaware, a guarantee against religious persecution as well as a welcome civil and social freedom. Herr von Beck,[1] writing in 1734, says:

> "Here are some of all religions and sects." He then proceeds to mention "Lutherans, Reformers, Church people, Presbyterians, Quakers, Catholics, Dunkers, Mennonites, Sabbatarians, Seventh-Dayers, Separatists, Bohemisters, Schwenkfelders, Tutchfelders, and Well-Wishers."

And, in addition, some of these had already been rent by schisms that resulted in subdivisions in their beliefs and practices, for the valley was favorable not only to

[1] Cf. *Reise Diarium*, by Herr von Beck, Philadelphia, 1734.

all religions but also to all subdivisions of any faith. There was but one thing that William Penn would not stand for, and that was for permitting an infidel to hold office.

George Keith, who came to Philadelphia in 1689 as headmaster of the school that later developed into the William Penn Charter School, created a division among the Quakers by claiming that the doctrine of the "inner light" was being exalted at the expense of the historic Christ and the Bible. The Yearly Meeting having "disowned" him, he started a separate meeting and secured many followers who assumed the name of "Christian Quakers." But Keith went to England, where he later joined the Episcopal Church and, returning to America, from 1700–04 served as a missionary for its "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." His followers, being thus abandoned, joined their religious fortunes with the Baptists and Episcopalians, although some returned to the regular body of Friends.[1] Another division among the Quakers occurred when it became evident that some of the members who had armed themselves during the menace of the Paxtang Boys, and others who believed they had a right to render civil and military service in behalf of the American cause during the Revolutionary period without being impeached by their brethren, refused to recant. Conspicuous in this movement were Samuel Wetherill, Timothy Matlack, and Owen Biddle. Being "disowned," they in 1781 formed "The Religious Society of Friends" and erected a building which still stands at Fifth and Arch Streets, Philadelphia. They finally assumed the name of "Free Quakers," although

[1] Sharpless' *An Experiment in Quaker Government*, I, p. 82.

they were popularly known as "The Fighting Quakers," because of their activities in the Revolution.

Although at first there was probably little in the daily life of the settlers to distinguish one sect from another, differences in belief were more marked in their religious services; and, as was to be expected where such religious freedom was allowed, sectarians whose habits as well as their worship were radically different soon began to appear. In 1694 arrived the monks who had come to the American wilds to prepare themselves for the coming of the "Woman of the Wilderness," who was to usher in the Millennium figuratively referred to in the Book of Revelation. Their leader, Johannes Kelpius, was highly educated but a mystic who believed in a threefold progression of the soul—"the barren, the fruitful, and the sacrificial or transcendent, which last was that of the elect or chosen, who had put everything else aside."[1]

For this reason these holy men had put everything else aside and come to a place where the fulfilment of their belief was in their judgment most likely to make itself known. Tarrying for a brief time in Germantown, they chose the banks of the Wissahickon, in what is now Roxborough, for their hermit life. Here they lived as a religious community with many theosophical (Rosicrucian) practices until after the death of Kelpius in 1708, when through marriage and other allurements the "Society of the Woman of the Wilderness," as they came to be known, gradually disappeared. Some of them entered the cloister at Ephrata, although a few of them must have remained as late as 1736, for the Rev. August Spangenberg, who visited them that year,

[1] Cf. Sachse's *German Pietists of Pennsylvania*, p. 180.

speaks of them as "Separatists." He said they would neither barter, trade, nor engage in any occupation for profit or gain. Their garb was of coarse homespun and they slept on hard beds without straw or feathers and lived on the plainest sort of food.[1]

But there were also enthusiasts who were more spectacular than as religiously helpful as these Mystics of the Wissahickon. One such was Matthias Baumann who originated a sect calling themselves the "Newborn." They professed to believe that they could not sin any more; basing the idea on the somewhat mixed argument, "With the body we cannot sin before God but only before men and other creatures, and these the Judge can settle." Baumann frequently proclaimed his doctrines in the markets of Philadelphia, and on one occasion, to prove his state of perfection, offered to walk across the Delaware.[2] For many years the second coming of the Lord was a fruitful source of opportunity for leadership by similar religious enthusiasts. The Rev. William Miller was the founder of a sect known as "The Millerites," who believed the "Second Coming" to be near at hand. Two or three times during 1843–44 the "last day" had been named and waited for by his followers. Finally he set October 24, 1845, as the day definitely indicated by the Scriptures as the time when Gabriel's trumpet would surely blow. The Millerites in various places therefore dressed in white and repaired to the fields to await the event. Those of Philadelphia abandoned their homes and shops and repaired to a field in Darby; but lack of food and the distress of many who had no shelter from the rain during a

[1] Cf. Sachse's *German Pietists of Pennsylvania.*
[2] Cf. *Chronicon Ephratense*, pp. 16 and 17.

long night of waiting proved too much for the credulity of many of the Rev. Mr. Miller's followers.

The belief underlying many of the German sects of the Valley of the Delaware was formulated in Germany through the teachings of Menno Simon who preached a doctrine of prayer, humility, and nonresistance. Quaker doctrines and practices may also have been inspired by him. In fact, Barclay said he was compelled to regard George Fox "as the unconscious exponent of the doctrine, practice, and discipline of the ancient and stricter party of the Dutch Mennonites"—

> "Both laid the greatest stress on 'inward piety and a godly, humble life, considered all strife and warfare as unchristian, scrupulously abstained from making oath, declared against a paid ministry, exercised through their meetings a strict discipline over their members, favored silent prayer, were opposed to infant baptism, and looked upon the established [state] churches as unhallowed vessels of the divine wrath.' "[1]

The Quakers also found much to admire in the teachings of the Pietist, Philip Jacob Spener, the spirit of whose words led the Mystics of the Wissahickon, the Labadists, and the Dunkers to come to the Valley of the Delaware where they could worship without molestation. It was this congeniality of religious spirit common to these German sects that enabled the Quakers to secure their support in retaining a hold upon the reins of government for so many years.

The Labadists

The Labadists arrived in 1684 from Friesland, the home of the mother church. Under the leadership of

[1] Cf. an article on "Penn's Travels" by Professor Seidensticker in *Pennsylvania Magazine*, Vol. II, No. 3.

Peter Sluyter and Jasper Dankers they settled on a tract of land known as "Bohemia Manor," which they purchased from Augustus Herman. Although this tract was partly in Maryland, as well as in what we now know as Delaware, they believed it to be wholly within Penn's province. The vessel conveying Kelpius and his band of Mystics was chased by the French into the Chesapeake and landed its passengers at Bohemia Manor, from which place they made their way to Philadelphia and from there to the Wissahickon where, like the Labadists, they founded a communistic colony. That there was much in common in their doctrines is indicated in the correspondence between Kelpius and one of the Labadists, Maria Elizabeth Gerber; although the Labadist leaders, unlike the Mystics, soon revealed the fact that they were quite as fully interested in the material prosperity of the colony as in its religious welfare.

The Dunkards

The Dunkards (originally "Dunkers") were followers of Alexander Mack of Schwartzenau, Germany. Like the Baptists they practiced immersion as their form of baptism; hence they were also known as German or Schwartzenau Baptists. They had no paid ministers and followed what they believed to be the literal commands of the Lord and His disciples. Because, during the period from 1719 to 1727, the entire membership including their leader, Alexander Mack, came to America and settled in Germantown and near-by places, America has been the great stronghold of this religious belief. An inclination toward the communal life led some of them to join the cloister at Ephrata

where, under the leadership of its founder, Conrad Beissel, Saturday was observed as the true Sabbath. There were many scholars among their number; Christopher Saur, prominent in the Dunkard Church they established in Germantown, being one of the most noted publishers in all the colonies. Ephrata, the home of the "Seventh-Day Baptists," was noted both for its press and for its music. Under the name of the "Church of the Brethren" the Dunkards now have many followers in all parts of the United States.

Episcopalians

The Church of England (Episcopal) was one of the earliest to establish itself in the Valley of the Delaware; and, as the Swedish Lutheran Churches were quite similar in their service and discipline to the Church of England, in the course of time they also merged with the Episcopalians. The suggestion of the Bishop of London that secured a clause in Penn's charter which provided that if as many as twenty persons applied for a minister the Bishop would send one to them, resulted in the establishment of the famous Christ Church in Philadelphia as early as 1695. Although the Episcopalians held more closely in their allegiance to the king than any other denomination, with the exception of Independence Hall no other early Philadelphia building figured more largely in national as well as local events than Christ Church. The Episcopalians spread their work to other colonies through their Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. As has been stated, George Keith became one of their missionaries and from 1700 to 1704 traveled from Massachusetts to the Carolinas establishing churches. Some

of the most venerable church buildings in the country are due to his efforts and those of other equally zealous workers in the cause of the Church of England. Three of these, in addition to Christ Church and the two Gloria Deis which have become Episcopalian, are Immanuel Church in New Castle, Delaware, erected 1703; Trinity Church, in the Oxford region of Philadelphia, erected 1711; and St. David's at Radnor, erected 1714. St. Mary's Church in Burlington, New Jersey, was among the first congregations of Church of England people established in the valley, having been founded by the famous Rev. John Talbot in 1703; but the present building dates only from 1846.

Although Church of England Virginia has older existing Episcopal congregations than any in the Valley of the Delaware, Christ Church has the honor of taking the lead in the establishment of a hospital for the care of the aged and the ailing. This was soon after 1772, and marks the first church movement in the colonies for the alleviation of human suffering.

Mennonites

The first settlers in Germantown, 1683, were Mennonites under the leadership of the scholarly Francis Daniel Pastorius. They were from Cresheim, near the border of Holland, and believed in the teachings of Menno Simons of Friesland (1492–1559). Their faith so nearly resembled that of the Friends that they often worshiped with them and, until 1708, seem to have had no separate organization in Germantown. But before 1740 they must have had a log church there, for Christopher Dock, who for nearly a quarter of a century had been teaching in his school on the Skippack, is recorded

From an old lithograph

First Christ Church (Episcopal) building, Second Street above High (Market), Philadelphia. Note the posts on the narrow sidewalks for the protection of pedestrians; also the bell hung in the crotch of a tree.

Stately interior of St. Peter's Episcopal Church, Third and Pine Streets, Philadelphia, showing its high pulpit and box pews.

as both teaching and preaching there. In 1770 the present Mennonite Church building, which was in the heart of the Battle of Germantown, was erected. Their great friend and agent, Pastorius,[1] is the central figure of Whittier's Pennsylvania Pilgrim. The first paper maker in the colonies, Wilhelm Rittinghausen, was one of their preachers. As weavers they laid the foundations for Germantown's early fame in linen and woolen industries. But Lancaster County soon became their great stronghold. Here, according to Mombert, they kept up the schism started in Germany and divided into: (*a*) The "Old Mennonites," or those who in 1709 settled on the Pequae Creek; (*b*) The "Reformed Mennonites" who, under the leadership of John Herr in 1811, claimed that the ancient purity of the Church had been departed from; and (*c*) The "Omish or Amish Mennonites," who themselves soon separated into the "Hooker Mennonites" and the "Button Mennonites," according to whether their clothing was held together by hooks and eyes or by buttons. Not only were buttons regarded as a vanity by the strictest of the sect but in the early days buckles on the shoes and pocket holes in the coats were also denounced.

Baptists

If baptism by immersion can be regarded as the distinctive rite of Baptist belief, their church can be held historically as one of the earliest; for immersion as a form of baptism has had its followers in every age of the Christian world. Baptists, regardless of their various names, probably also have suffered more than

[1] Pastorius was baptized and reared a Lutheran, but became inclined to the Quaker faith. Cf. Larned's *Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius*, p. 218.

any other denomination for their courageous clinging to the claim that in spiritual matters they shall be entirely free to follow the teachings of the Bible, as nearly as they can understand them without overlordship from either state or ecclesiastical body.—

> "Baptists of every shade and degree of orthodoxy have contributed a glorious list to the martyrology of the church militant since the days when armies were sent against the Thracian and Bosnian Christians, and other armies hunted defenseless Albegenses through Swiss defiles and valleys of France."

Their early beliefs were greatly influenced by the interpretations of the Bible made by Calvin and Zwingli; but their "confessions of faith" have remained more free to modification by their individual churches or associations of churches than has been permitted by the formulated creeds of other denominations. Roger Williams was the first American advocate of this religious freedom, and his church at Providence, Rhode Island, organized in 1639, was the first Baptist Church in America.

However, the "Philadelphia Association," organized 1707, is the oldest association of churches in America. In 1742 they adopted the "Confession of Faith" prepared in England by the "Elders and Brethren of Many Congregations of Christians (Baptized upon Profession of Their Faith)," and which was printed by Benjamin Franklin the next year. John Holme, author of *A True Relation of the Flourishing State of Pennsylvania* and who arrived in 1680, is known to have been a Baptist. He must have been among the first Baptists in the valley, although there are traditions that one of the first arrivals in 1682 was a Baptist girl from Wales and that

Abel Noble, who had arrived in 1684, had formed a Baptist society in Upper Providence, Delaware County, and that a number of immersions in the county had followed.[1] However, the first recorded church in the valley was organized at Cold Spring, between Bristol and the falls at Trenton. This was prior to 1688, when the Pennepack or Lower Dublin Church was formed. This church on the Pennepack became the mother church from which ministers went forth into other parts of Pennsylvania and into New Jersey. In 1707 the first meetinghouse was replaced with the present more substantial building. Their baptisms were performed in the Pennepack Creek.

Lutherans

Although not prominent in the earliest days of the German settlements in America, the Lutheran, German Reformed, and Moravian (United Brethren) churches soon ranked among the most influential. Aside from the Swedish Lutheran ministers, whose churches merged with the Episcopalian, Justus Falckner seems to have been the first Lutheran minister in the valley who had a regular congregation. He began to preach to the Germans at Falckner's Swamp, now New Hanover, in 1703; but soon was called to New York, thus leaving them without a pastor. There was also a German settlement at The Trappe, beyond Collegeville, before 1729 when their present venerable building was erected. Philadelphia and Germantown also each had a German Lutheran Church; but in general the Lutherans experienced great difficulty in securing ministers and often worshiped with the German Reformed Congrega-

[1] Smith's *History of Delaware County, Pennsylvania,* p. 226.

tions. Appeals to England finally led, in 1741, to the appointment of Heinrich Melchior Muhlenberg to serve the Philadelphia, Trappe, and Falckner's Swamp congregations. The first Lutheran Church in Philadelphia, St. Michaels, was replaced in 1769 by the famous Zion Church, Fourth and Cherry Streets, for many years the largest church building in the city and the one in which, during the funeral services held in memory of Washington, Richard Henry Lee uttered the memorable eulogy in regard to him, "First in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen."

The German Reformed Church

In 1746 the Reformed synod of Holland sent the Rev. Michael Schlatter to visit the German settlements in America and report upon their spiritual needs from time to time. In 1751 he reported that there were then fifteen Reformed parishes with forty-six churches in America and that all but two of these parishes and eight of the churches were in Pennsylvania. This was probably also a fair indication of the numerical distribution of the Germans in the country at that time. Most of these churches he declared were without either preachers or teachers—a condition that had formed the basis of frequent appeals for help made also by Muhlenberg for his Lutheran settlements. Three years later, 1754, "A Memorial of the Case of the German Emigrants settled in the Colonies of Pennsylvania, and the Back Parts of Maryland, Virginia, etc.," published in London, emphasized the destitute condition, especially of the newer arrivals of the Germans, as

> "without substance, attended with few, if any, ministers to teach them, incapable of supporting them could they have

procured any, wholly impoverished with Bibles, or books of religion or morality, in that language, which they alone understood, or with any kind of proper helps to inform themselves, or educate their children."

As a result a society was formed and trustees chosen to administer funds for the appointment of "pious and godly protestant ministers, both of the Lutheran and Calvinistic persuasions," to serve the churches. The establishment of schools "for the education of boys—particularly at Reading, York, Easton, New Providence, Skippack, and Hannover was also provided for." The instruction in these schools was to be both in the English and the German languages and

"in writing and keeping common accompts, in singing of Psalms, and the principles of the true protestant religion, and in those catechisms, which are respectively approved of and taught by the parents and ministers of the denominations they belong to."

An inspection of this curriculum reveals what a large part of it was religious. The trustees of the fund had the grace to add

"as their opinion, that it might be of great service to religion and Industry, to have a few schools also for girls, and to encourage some schoolmistresses to teach them reading and the use of the needle."

Bibles, catechisms, and other useful books were to be distributed free among the poorer folks. Schlatter was appointed supervisor of the schools,[1] as well as of the congregations, at a salary of one hundred pounds a year. This unusually large salary was justified because—

"He will be obliged to be almost continually on horseback, to travel to the most distant parts of the country, and whose

[1] America's first school superintendent.

constant employment will be such as to render him incapable of attending to any other particular charge whatever."

Schoolmasters were to have twenty pounds per year, schoolmistresses twelve pounds.

The first Reformed minister in the valley, according to the journal kept by Schlatter, was John Philip Boehm who, although only a schoolmaster like Christopher Dock, felt called upon to lead in divine services as best he could. This was in 1726, and his school was in Whitpaine Township, then a part of Philadelphia County. Boehm was later ordained as a minister and in 1740 succeeded in having a small stone church constructed there with its pulpit "high up, in one corner." The first Reformed congregation in Philadelphia was organized in 1732. At first they worshiped with the Lutherans in a "barn" near Fifth and Arch Streets; but in 1746 they began the construction of a stone church of hexagonal shape, on Race Street east of Fourth, which because of its peculiar shape was always known as "the six-square Dutch church." Their first meetinghouse in Germantown stood opposite the market house and was surmounted by a weather vane in the shape of a cock, which served as a target for the hilarious Paxtang Boys before they returned to their homes.

Moravians

The Moravians (United Brethren) formed one of the most interesting religious groups of the early colonies. This was largely because of the long continued success of their community life, but partly also because of their practical work with the Indians and their great interest in education and music. Their community life had re-

ligion as its foundation, the only motive that seems to hold out any guarantee of long continued communistic success. All such movements need efficient leadership. But even then the history of all communistic movements has shown the inevitable human tendency towards failure as groups grow large, conditions complex, and the inability of one mind to grasp and one hand to control all the elements of success becomes apparent. In the case of these Moravians their community life lasted over a decade (1741–62) and some of the best features of it have survived to the present day.

Many of the bands of German immigrants were just as truly "Pilgrims" as any of the religious colonies landing on the coast of New England. And this is certainly true of these Moravians. Persecution had driven them from their homes in Austria to Germany; from there they had sought a home in Georgia; but Georgia's war with the Spaniards and Indians led them to remove to Germantown; and from there they at last found rest on the banks of the Lehigh. In this heavily wooded region they hewed out the twin settlements to which with holy zeal they gave the names of Bethlehem and Nazareth. They had sought this haven in the wilderness not only for the opportunity to live their own civic and religious life but also because of the freedom it afforded them of doing missionary work among the Indians.

These Moravians, who were often known as "Herrnhüters," always claimed that they were Lutherans although they were in reality followers of John Huss, burned at the stake in Constance in 1415; and Huss's inspiration had come from Wycliff's translation of the Bible which had occurred long before the time of

Luther. But unlike the Lutherans in Germany, the Presbyterian kirk in Scotland, and the Puritans in New England, long years of persecution had made them tolerant of other creeds, and one of Count Zinzendorf's objectives in coming to America was his ambition to unite all Protestant churches into one fellowship of the spirit of Christ—a vision which even after nearly 2000 years of Christianity has been only meagerly realized.

Zinzendorf was also deeply interested in the work with the Indians. This Indian work was not mere sentiment with the Moravians, but was organized on the practical basis of establishing settlements for these untutored children of the forest where, under missionary leadership, they could have schools, farms, and churches for their conversion in material as well as spiritual things. There is no instance in American history of better planned nor more devoted efforts in behalf of these badly treated natives of our soil. The missionaries were trained for this work through a systematic study of the Indian languages; and this was the beginning of a general training for religious work which, in 1807, established at Bethlehem the first theological seminary in the United States.[1]

From the very beginning of their settlements the Moravians provided for the education of their children, many of whom were adopted orphans. Nor was the education of girls neglected by the Moravians. Curiously, even after several centuries of attention to the education of boys, the far-reaching effects of failing to educate girls had not been realized, and these Moravians were leaders in the attempt to afford equal opportunities to both sexes. The girls' seminary opened

[1] Boone's *Education in the United States*, p. 210.

From an old lithograph

First Philadelphia Courthouse, which stood in middle of High (Market) Street, just west of Second; and the Friend's "Big Meetinghouse," which stood on the southwest corner of Second and High Streets.

Courtesy, "The Evening Bulletin"

Keene Home for Aged Gentlewomen, Bristol, Pennsylvania. Joseph Bonaparte was a frequent visitor while it was still a private residence.

by them at Bethlehem in 1745 is still one of the most prosperous institutions of the kind in the country. The way in which music entered into the daily life of the Moravians has already been referred to.

> "There was no music in the Quakers. Even from their worship they excluded the hymn of humility and the psalm of praise."[1]

In this they even exceeded the Puritans who, while they debarred instrumental music from their churches, did use there solemn metrical versions of the Psalms. But the Moravians not only used the organ and all sorts of wind and stringed instruments in their services but preceded such important events as the harvesting of their grain by meeting together for sacred rejoicing through music, often prepared by their own composers, before, with sickles in hand, they marched to the fields led by players on the trombone. But the influence of their music eventually spread into wider circles and today the Bethlehem concerts, especially their annual Bach Festival in May, are events of national importance.

Presbyterians

Presbyterianism found its way into America as early as 1672 when the Scotch-Irish began to emigrate to America as an asylum from the arbitrary restrictions placed on their industries and religious freedom by the English government. The first Presbyterian settlement in America—at "Rehoboth," in 1672—has already been referred to (see Chapter VI). But the main body of Presbyterians entered New Jersey by the

[1] Scharf & Westcott's *History of Philadelphia*, II, p. 1075.

way of Long Island in 1679. The establishment of Penn's liberal government soon drew the advancing stream of their scattered settlements across New Jersey into the valleys of the Blue Ridge. By 1692 a contingent of them was in Philadelphia worshiping with the Baptists in a warehouse belonging to a trading company. In 1704–05 they erected their first church building in Philadelphia. This soon received the popular name of the "Buttonwood Church" because of the fine buttonwood trees surrounding it. Franklin had a pew in this church. The Swedish traveler Kalm described the church as standing due north and south on High Street, though he said "The Presbyterians do not mind the points of the compass, provided they have the points of the catechism all right." But, besides the careful doctrinal grounding of the young through a study of the catechism, the Presbyterians deserve notice because they also stood for an educated ministry at a time when, outside of New England, the dearth of such ministers was very great.

Between 1730 and 1770 it is estimated that more than half of the population of Ulster County in the north of Ireland had come to America and, although the tide of them swept toward the south through the valleys west of the Blue Ridge, enough of them remained in Pennsylvania to constitute half of the population by 1770.[1] These Ulster Presbyterians differed from their Scottish brethren of the "land o' cakes" in that they had renounced the arbitrary rule of the kirk, which was then merely a mouthpiece of the Scottish government; and they therefore readily fraternized with the Palatinate Germans and the Quakers, who also believed

[1] Fiske's *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, II, pp. 335-36.

in the entire separation of Church and state. But these Scotch-Irish were of a fighting stock and were always ready to arm in defense of their rights as well as for the protection of their homes and neighbors. In this they were joined by such Germans and Quakers as believed that defensive warfare does not militate against spiritual welfare. Together they furnished a rampart of protection on the western frontier which was welcomed during the troubles with the Indians.

However, with the removal of this menace at the close of the French and Indian War, the Church of England, especially in Virginia, began to assert its claims for a state religion, hampered the work of the Presbyterian missionaries, and arrested three Baptists for "preaching the gospel contrary to law." This was as late as 1768 and furnished an occasion for the great champion of liberty, Patrick Henry, who was present, to shame the authorities as the indictments against the preachers were read, by saying:

> "May it please your worships what did I hear read; Did I hear an expression that these men, whom your worships are about to try for misdemeanors, are charged with preaching the gospel of the Son of God!"[1]

A number of the Scotch-Irish were well-educated men and served as teachers as well as preachers. But the number educated in theology was especially inadequate, a fact that led the Rev. William Tennent to found his famous "Log College" on the Neshaminy in Bucks County. Both as frontiersmen and as scholars these Scotch-Presbyterians from Pennsylvania rendered excellent service not only during the Revolutionary

[1] Fiske's *The Critical Period in American History*, p. 81.

War but, commingling with German and Puritan blood, also during the march of civilization into the valley of the Mississippi.[1]

Methodists

Methodist history in the Valley of the Delaware begins with services held in Philadelphia in 1768 by Capt. Thomas Webb, a picturesque character who was British quartermaster at Albany, New York, and who always preached in full uniform, even including his sword which was laid on top of the pulpit during the services. But John Adams, who heard him, speaks in his "Diary" of his fluent and eloquent language. It is true that George Whitefield, whose eloquence attracted thousands, was in the valley more than thirty years before; but Whitefield died without attempting to form a church. Webb's preaching was in a sail loft on Front Street near Dock; but the next year, 1769, a regular church building that had been begun by a German Reformed congregation was purchased, finished, and called the "Church of St. George." It still stands at the Philadelphia entrance to the Delaware River Bridge and is the oldest existing Methodist building in the country.

Prejudice against Methodism had been aroused by a pamphlet written in England by its founder, John Wesley, justifying Great Britain's taxation of the colonies; hence the progress of Methodism in America was slow. It was known at first merely as the "Society of Methodists." However, in 1771 Wesley sent the Rev. Francis Asbury, "a man of shrewd sense and deep religious feeling," to represent the cause in America.

[1] Fiske's *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, II, p. 336.

In 1773 he held a conference of all the Methodists who could attend in Philadelphia. At that time there were nine ministers, only six of whom could attend, and 180 members, including not only all in the valley but also those of New York where a Methodist society had been formed in 1766. During the Revolution the church of St. George was used as a stable by the British; and, the pews having been used for fuel, the members for some time after the war had to bring their own chairs to sit on.

The war interfered with the progress of all American churches. However, in 1784 the Rev. Dr. Thomas Coke arrived in New York to take general charge of all the Methodist interests and meeting Bishop Asbury in a conference held in Barratt's Chapel, a large building completed 1780 near Frederica, Delaware, they arranged a campaign for the establishment of congregations and the building of churches. The rapid spread of Methodism, especially toward the south, may therefore be said to date from this conference between the two bishops and their assembled laymen, many of whom had come from Delaware.

Catholics

The records indicate that Catholic priests of the order of the Jesuits were in New York as early as 1683. One of these, Father Thomas Harvey, was in Maryland in 1693, but three years later he was back in New York. Evidently little progress at that time was made there, for in 1696 the returns indicated that there were only nine Catholics in New York. On his journeys from New York to Maryland, which likely were on foot, Father Harvey, no doubt, stopped in Philadelphia and

also ministered to any Catholics found on the way. There must have been Catholics in Philadelphia prior to 1707, for January 10 of that year the Rev. John Talbot, an Episcopal minister who was then serving as secretary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, deprecated "Independency at Elizabethtown, Anabaptism at Burlington, and the Popish Mass in Philadelphia." He also accused Penn of being a Papist—i.e., "if he has any religion 'tis this."[1] Although Penn replied to the charge by saying that if his liberality in regard to religion opened him to the charge he would have to abide by it, he evidently was troubled by the written complaints in regard to masses being held in Philadelphia; for the twenty-ninth of the seventh month, 1708, he wrote to James Logan saying a complaint had been made that he (Logan) was suffering "publick mass in a scandalous manner" and adding "ill use is made of it against us here."

A temporary wooden structure may have been used for these masses in Philadelphia, but it was not until 1732 that the first regular Catholic Church building was completed. This was the little eighteen by twenty-eight chapel of St. Joseph's, which had been erected as the result of the ministrations of Father Joseph Greaton who consecrated it in a mass attended by eleven communicants. This venerable building, greatly enlarged, still stands in Willings Alley, a holy retreat from the daily hurry and worry in the business houses with which it is completely surrounded. During the serious troubles with the French, which began to develop about 1690, a strong anti-Catholic feeling arose in New York and

[1] Cf. Hill's *History of the Church in Burlington*, which contains many of Talbot's letters.

in 1700 all "Romish forms of worship" were prohibited there; the penalty of imprisonment for life of any priest found within the province after November 1st of that year was also provided. Even the otherwise liberal province of Rhode Island deprived Catholics of the franchise.[1] In New England, where anti-Catholic prejudices were strong, as late as 1784 there were only 600 Catholics all told. The first Catholic Church in New Jersey was erected in Trenton in 1814.

Beginning with the contests between William of Orange and Louis XIV, the feeling developed against Catholics was political rather than religious. The unfavorable reception given the three shiploads of unfortunate Acadians sent to Philadelphia in 1754 was of this nature. They were accused of being favorable to the French at a time when the trouble with France was reaching a crisis in America. Longfellow, in his poem "Evangeline," evidently was moved to show not only that these Catholics as a body were cruelly treated but also that it was an unwarranted hand of fate that separated Evangeline from her lover Gabriel. Even as late as 1844 the anti-Catholic riots in Philadelphia, during which the church of St. Augustine was burned and several persons were killed, had their origin in widely spread rumors that the Catholics were using unwarranted means for securing control of the government.

Humanitarian Movements

Although we are often horrified by the cruelty and neglect manifested in general toward the ailing and the unfortunate in many of the European countries during what corresponds to our colonial period, we must pay

[1] Cf. Arnold's *History of Rhode Island*, II, p. 490.

a tribute to Quakerism, wherever its control prevailed, for the sympathetic interest it manifested in the sick and those whose weakness or misfortune had brought them into trouble. This led to the early reputation of the Valley of the Delaware for its humanitarian spirit. Fiske[1] pays his tribute to this in the following words:

> "Pennsylvania was honorably distinguished for the good care of prisons and the humanity of prison discipline. Visitors from Europe remarked upon Philadelphia prisons as the best in the world. Philadelphia had also the only lunatic asylum in America that was managed upon something like modern methods. It had, moreover, an excellent hospital, a reform school, and no city in the world devoted a larger share of time and thought to philanthropic purposes. In this we see the direct influence of Quakerism and of the ideals of William Penn."

There were of course times and conditions when this tribute might seem overdrawn; yet the sympathies of the people were always easily aroused and a leader was usually present to help correct abuses and furnish help when the need became evident.

Although it was an early boast that "no one need ever starve in this fruitful country," it was not long before it became evident that there were persons who through sickness, misfortune, or mere improvidence needed food, shelter, and care. At first this help was almost certain to be rendered by kindly disposed neighbors; but in 1700 an act was passed by the Assembly of Pennsylvania "for the better protection of the poor." In 1706 the justices of the peace were required to appoint annually two overseers of the poor for every

[1] *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, II, p. 315.

Outdoor bake oven. In the better type of homes they were built against the wall of the kitchen with the oven door opening into the fireplace; or they formed a part of the separate "wash house."

"Dutch oven," front and back view. The open side was turned toward the fire in the fireplace.

township and make a levy of a penny a pound for the support of the poor. At first they were cared for in private families; but this plan evidently was unsatisfactory for, in 1712, it being found in Philadelphia that the number of poor was "Dayly Increasing," the Council decided to rent a building in which they could be employed, and persons were appointed "to keep them at Work." Idleness was seen to breed then as now both pauperism and crime. This workhouse evidently proved a success, for in 1717 the Assembly authorized the erection of "workhouses" in Philadelphia, Chester, and Bristol.

But our American ancestors could not entirely rid themselves of the idea that there was a stigma connected with poverty in a fruitful country where no one needed to starve; hence, they required that everyone receiving assistance should wear a large P, cut from red or blue cloth, on the right shoulder of his outer garment with also something to indicate the institution to which he belonged. The necessity of providing for the insane and those unable to work led the Philadelphia Council in 1730 to authorize the building of an almshouse on Society Hill.[1] This must have been completed before 1733, as there is a record of the appointment of an overseer for it for that year. In 1713 the Friends opened an almshouse on Walnut Street, Philadelphia, on ground given them by John Martin; but this was only for their own people. These various movements were followed at later dates by the unusually large number of philanthropic institutions for which Philadelphia and the rest of the valley have always been noted.

In 1751, through the efforts of Dr. Thomas Bond and

[1] The general region south of Spruce and west of Fourth Streets.

the hearty support of Franklin and some thirty others, a hospital was opened on High Street, Philadelphia. Three years later the trustees bought part of the square facing Pine Street, from Eighth to Ninth, the Penns giving the remainder, and the next year, 1755, the corner stone for the present Pennsylvania Hospital was laid. This was the hospital to which Benjamin West gave his famous painting of "Christ Healing the Sick."[1] The first clinical lectures in the country were given by Doctor Bond in this hospital—a fact noted on one of its memorial tablets. At first both medicines and services were free. The medical library of the institution was for many years the finest in the country.

The churches were the next to take up the establishment of hospitals. At first their movements were merely in the nature of providing homes for their aged members. Some of these movements, however, have developed into hospitals that are rendering excellent service today. Christ Church Hospital, for which Dr. John Keasley, who died in 1772, made provision in his will, led in these church movements. The Friends Hospital for the Insane followed in 1817; St. Joseph's (Catholic) in 1849; the Episcopal Hospital in 1862; the Jewish Hospital 1865; St. Mary's (Catholic) 1866; and the Presbyterian 1872. The last four of these reveal the appeal of Civil War needs. Provision for the insane had a prominent place in the founding of the Pennsylvania Hospital. In 1833 Dr. Joseph Kirkbride, of international fame as an alienist, had charge of this department of the hospital; and in 1859 he established the famous institution for many years

[1] A marble bust of William Penn was presented in 1802, and in 1804 his grandson, John Penn, gave the leaden statue which stands in the yard of the hospital.

known as "Kirkbride's" and which, within recent years, has been secured as the department of the Pennsylvania Hospital that treats mental and nervous diseases. A naval hospital was opened in connection with the old Navy Yard in Southwark, Philadelphia. In 1826 this hospital was abandoned and a fine old building known as the "Plantation," near Gray's Ferry, was used for the purpose. Three years later (1829) the present old Naval Asylum was completed on the grounds of the Plantation.

Hospitals and "retreats" have multiplied in the valley until now there is no city and scarcely a town of any size that has not made provision for those who through accident, disease, or the pangs of poverty need help—help which they will receive whether able to pay or not. One of the most interesting of these retreats is the "Keene Home for Aged Gentlewomen," in Bristol, Pennsylvania. Here, in a fine old mansion built by Major Lenox in 1816 and occupied by his adopted daughter, Sarah Keene, until 1910, these gentlewomen pass their remaining days surrounded by the culture and comfort known in their earlier life and without the humiliating conditions so often facing inmates of the ordinary type of charitable institution. Care for sick and orphan children and reform work for the wayward of both sexes have also always made effective appeals to the humanitarian spirit of the people of the Valley of the Delaware, a spirit which always finds its fullest and best expression among a people with a strong religious background.

Chapter XIV

LIFE IN THE VALLEY OF THE DELAWARE

Life in the Valley of the Delaware, like that of other regions in the thirteen colonies, naturally at first reflected many features of the home life of the lands from which its people came. However, with the exception of religious observances and the occupational influences of local environments, there was enough in common in the various colonies to make a description of the daily life in this region serve as a fair picture of life in all the others. This was especially true before plantation life began to develop in the South toward the end of the eighteenth century, and New England, some thirty years later, became so fully an industrial and seafaring region. Life in the Valley of the Delaware even found its counterpart in most of the early settlements in the Mississippi valley. As has been stated, nowhere else in the colonies was there present at first such a variety of nationalities and such a complete round of religious influences as in this valley; and nowhere else were the unifying influences as freely operative as they were under the spirit of toleration instituted by William Penn. Here people of all faiths and practices could learn to live together without the vindictive bigotry so common in the Reformation days in Europe.

The Swedes[1] and the Dutch were the first to establish homes in the wilderness of forests, meadow land, and

[1] Where Swedes are spoken of the Finns are meant to be included.

streams of the valley. Both had come from well-watered countries intersected by streams and canals. Naturally they chose the lowlands on the banks of the streams, where communication by boat would be easy and where there would be no necessity for clearing away the formidable forests and tangled underbrush for either farms or roads. They knew how to build dikes and ditches to drain the lowlands and soon had them planted with rye, wheat, corn, and tobacco—the cultivation and use of the last two having been learned from the Indians. Their methods of farming were primitive: grain was harvested with the sickle and threshed with the flail; oxen were yoked to crude plows with wooden moldboards and homemade carts with solid wooden wheels. The yokes were made of bent hickory wood and rested on plaited corn-husk collars, so shaped as to prevent injuring the neck and shoulders of the oxen; the traces were made of deer hide, and tanned deer or bearskins were used as saddles; and riding was done Indian fashion without stirrups even after horses became more common.[1] Shelter was not always provided for the cattle, although after sheep were introduced, shelter had to be provided in order to protect them from the wolves which were both dangerous and abundant.

Their houses were low, one-story affairs with one room and a loft reached by a ladder. The doorway, although wide, was so low as to require stooping in passage, and the windows were merely holes cut in the logs of which the house was built and were covered with oil paper or a dried bladder stretched across them. Sliding shutters

[1] Some of these horses were wild horses that probably were descended from stock which escaped from early settlements in Maryland and Virginia.

could be used for closing the windows in severe weather or in the case of danger. Houses were heated from an open fireplace usually in a corner of the room, although the Dutch soon introduced a more generous fireplace extending across the end of the room. The chimney was built outside of clay and sticks or of rough stones gathered from the fields and streams. Some of the better able settlers soon replaced these crude houses with larger and more substantial one-story buildings of brick or stone, either of the Swedish type with gambrel roof or of the Dutch type with a high-pitched roof.

In case of extreme elegance the Dutch had two- or even three-story buildings with their stepped gable, Amsterdam-like, toward the street. An interesting example of this was the old "Tile House" of New Castle, Delaware, built 1687 and which stood for two centuries although finally permitted to fall into ruins. The furniture of these first settlers was homemade, crude, and lacking in comfort; but many of the Swedes and Dutch were recruited from the lower ranks and so long as they could secure food, shelter, and warmth were little troubled by the lack of other comforts in their homes. Many of them had not risen in their European homes above conditions where houses are described as built of mud and wood, thatched with straw, and of one room without division, the floor of earth covered with rushes and straw underneath which Erasmus says "lay everything that is nauseous." There was no chimney to many of these European houses and they were filled with the smoke from burning wood, the only fuel they knew.[1] And it is greatly to the credit of these people that, under the valley's free

[1] Cf. the Introduction to Bishop's *History of American Manufactures.*

conditions and encouraging rewards for labor, they so rapidly developed a taste for better things.

With the coming of the English and Germans substantial houses of more than one story became common in both city and country; although, until these could be built, even the well-to-do often had to be satisfied with "cave dwellings," which were half-house, half-cellar excavations dug into the side of a hill or the bank of a stream and had sod sides and a roof composed of branches of trees covered with sod. Pastorius occupied such a house on South Front Street, Philadelphia, before his Germantown house was built. The early German houses, if of more than one room to a floor, usually had the chimney in the center; while the English placed their chimneys at the ends of their buildings. The Germans took excellent care of their cattle and a German farmer's homestead usually revealed a larger and more expensive building for his stock than for his family.

Both the English and the Germans chose the uplands for their farms because they were not so difficult to drain in wet weather nor so subject to the plagues of mosquitoes and malaria as were the lowlands inhabited by the Swedes and Dutch. But the first settlers in these heavily wooded uplands had to face the burden and heat of many a day before the soil was ready to yield them a comfortable living. Trees had to be gotten rid of, bushes and underbrush cleared away, and roots grubbed up and destroyed. Before the primitive plows with their wooden moldboards could be used the soil had to be turned over with the grubbing hoe. Bundles of branches were dragged over the upturned soil to smooth it down for the seed which, being imperfectly

covered by the same method, furnished tempting feeding grounds for the birds and wild turkeys with which the forests abounded.—

> "The growing grain was relished by the deer which often gave their lives as a sacrifice for their boldness in making use of the settler's crops, and thus became food and raiment for the white man."

The women loyally assisted in gathering and burning underbrush and in preparing patches for grain, for raising flax, and for gardening. They, especially the German women, were also skilful in spinning and in the use of the needle. Before the days of the spinning wheel the thread was twisted on the knee and rolled up on a small round stick with a ring on the end. As mills were few and often far distant, most of the grain was crushed between stones or ground up in homemade mortars, the coarser portions being removed by a sieve. Sheep and other cattle, turned loose to find pasturage, were furnished with bells to trace them when they wandered too far into the primeval forests. Orchards were also planted and in due time added in season their fruits to the daily fare. Young women, especially among the Quakers and Germans, who were looking forward to becoming housewives, learned to spin the flax and the wool that were used for clothing or for bed and table use and became skilful in knitting mittens and stockings for protection against the winter's cold. If there was a loom in the house, they also learned to weave; if not, the itinerant weaver like the itinerant shoemaker made his annual visit to serve the family.

There were three fairly distinct periods apparent in the furniture used in colonial homes. The earliest began with the first settlements and extended approxi-

Spinning by hand. Homemade "rag carpet" on the floor.

Stone hand mill. The "runner" (right) shows two small holes for the upright pegs with which to turn it in the "bedstone" (left). The small hole for the escape of the ground flour or meal shows on inner right side of the bedstone.

mately to 1725; it was the period of heavy build, straight lines, and little or no decoration, utility being the dominant note; and most of this furniture was made in the home or by the village carpenter. A second period, from 1725 to about 1790, followed, during which increasing wealth, especially in the cities, permitted a degree of luxury in furniture; and curved lines, decoration, and rich upholstering began to encroach on mere utility. From 1790 to 1825 there was a reaction from the rococo types of the second period and an appreciation of classical designs that led to greater simplicity in lines and decoration. The first period, if it can be classified at all, corresponded more nearly to the early Gothic; the second to the baroque; and the third to the classical. The second period saw the development of the cabriole leg with claw or splay feet, and the third period the slender, graceful Sheraton or Hepplewhite legs for chairs and tables.[1]

The names of Chippendale, Adams, Sheraton, and Hepplewhite of England stand out most prominently in these later periods; although New York had its noted cabinetmakers and Philadelphia had Savery, Gostelowe, Randolph, and Tuft who had their own ideas in regard to the beautiful and appropriate in furniture. Toward the end of the third period the influence of the French empire began to manifest itself and increased heaviness and solidity in furniture appeared; and with this phase of design "the age of the great cabinetmakers comes to an end."[2]

Silverware, which followed in general the lines and types of decoration of the furniture, began to appear in

[1] Cf. Halsey & Cornelius' *Handbook of the Metropolitan Museum.*
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 210.

the houses of the well-to-do after 1725. Before this, the use of silverware was restricted almost entirely to the churches or to the few heirlooms brought with them by the better class of settlers. The handicraft of the local silversmiths and the best products of the skilled cabinet-makers and workers in wood then began to rival the best that was still being imported from England. Cutlery was almost exclusively an English product, as was also most of the fine china and glassware. Light was furnished by "betty-lamps," candlesticks, sconces, and standing lamps using lard oil, and later by lamps using various kinds of spirits. Chandeliers, or "lustres" as they called them, were found in some of the more elaborate homes. Major André, in his account of the Meschianza written for the *Gentleman's Magazine* of London, said the immense ballroom of Walnut Grove, the Wharton mansion where it was held, was lighted by twelve hanging glass lustres each holding twenty spermaceti candles. In order to get the best effect from the candles these lustres were hung low, somewhat to the danger of the elaborate high headdresses of the lady dancers.

Henry Wansey, who traveled in the United States in 1794, gives us in his *Journal* a good idea of the interior of a wealthy Philadelphia home at that time:

> "I dined this day with Mr. Bingham. I found a magnificent house and gardens in the best English style, with elegant even superb furniture. The chairs in the drawing-room were from Siddons in London, of the newest taste; the back in the form of a lyre, with festoons of crimson and yellow silk. The curtains of the room a festoon of the same. The carpet one of Moon's most expensive patterns. The room was papered in the French taste. after the style of the Vatican at Rome."

The eagle began to be a very popular decoration at the time of the inauguration of our first President, as is evident from mirrors and clock cases of that period. The eagle, with spread wings, also became a popular tavern sign; and the "spread eagle" became a synonyn for the type of speech used, then as now, to gloss over the weaknesses of candidates for office and to magnify the glories of our country on all sorts of patriotic occasions.

The poorer settlers dwelling distant from the cities and towns lived at first under conditions similar to those of the early Swedes. Oldmixon, in describing their houses and furniture, says their houses had dirt floors with a clapboard floor laid for the garret; and that the chimney was sometimes built only of wood but with a clay lining. The doors were of split wood, hewn down to the proper thickness, and had deerskin hinges and a wooden latch and bar. The windows, when so desired, could be closed with clapboard shutters. A large fireplace, usually taking up the entire end of the room, had a hearth of smooth flat stones. For furniture, the table was made of hewn wood resting on puncheons driven into the dirt floor. Hewn benches, supported in the same manner, and blocks of wood with smooth tops served instead of chairs. Rude wooden beds were contrived along the sides, and bearskins supplemented whatever bedclothing had been brought from across the water.

Iron articles were the hardest to get as well as the dearest; so kitchen utensils of earthenware had to supplement the one or two iron kettles which it was the aim of every settler to possess. Light was at first furnished by rich pine knots, known as "light wood," and by

pork fat burned in crude lamps with a wick resting in the oil. Whale or sturgeon oil was used by those who could secure it. Where houses had floors these were sanded in lieu of carpets. The more prosperous housewives were always proud of their homespun linens.[1] As houses had to be heated from wood burned in the fireplaces, rooms had to be small and ceilings low in order to be at all comfortable in cold weather. Highly inflammable soot accumulated rapidly in the chimneys and had to be burned out with long swabs of straw or cleaned by the chimney sweeps who were soon required by law to be employed in cities and towns. In order to prevent petty thieving these "sweeps" were regularly licensed by the authorities.

Dress

For everyday wear leather aprons for artisans and leather breeches for all classes of men were far more common than the imported silks, velvets, and nankeens. "Penn himself wore leather stockings for which he paid two shillings a pair."[2] Leather shoes, with brass or silver buckles and wooden heels, formed the ordinary footwear in the settlements, although moccasins made from deer hide were more common on the frontiers. As might be expected from the number of lands and variety of social conditions represented in the Valley of the Delaware, all but the daily working clothes were of great variety in material and pattern. This was before Dame Fashion had become arbitrary in America and modern methods of production had dressed the multitudes as alike as peas in a pod; and an early

[1] See also Schoepp's *Reise Durch Pennsilvanien, 1703.*
[2] Scharf & Westcott's *History of Philadelphia,* I, p. 154.

From an old painting

A reminder of Volunteer Firemen days in Philadelphia. Races between rival organizations often ended in serious riots during which the fire got beyond control.

colonial holiday or Sabbath gathering must have presented quite a picturesque appearance.

The working clothes, as well as the "best clothes," of the laboring classes are well indicated in the many advertisements for "runaways" found in the early papers. In the *Maryland Gazette*, for August 30, 1745, appears the following for a runaway apprentice:

> "He had on when he went away, an Oznabrig's shirt, a white Ditto, a Pair of Buckskin Breeches, a Pair of short wide Trowsers, two Pair of White Hose, and a well worn Broadcloth coat with metal Buttons."

Evidently he found the easiest and least suspicious way of carrying his belongings was to wear them. Baron Stiegel, who had quite a number of employees at his foundry and glassworks, seems to have had quite a great deal of trouble with runaways. On April 3, 1766, he offered a reward for information concerning an Irish servant man who took with him

> "a light-coloured Kersey Waistcoat, lined with Oznabrig, an under Jacket nearly of the same colour before, one Pair of new Leather Breeches, and a pair of old ditto, one Pair of Worsted Stockings, one Pair black ditto, and a pair of blue Yarn, several Oznabrig shirts, a pair of new, and a Pair of old Shoes, and an old Felt Hat."

He went off with another servant who had on "a blue Coat, Waistcoat of the same Colour and Leather Breeches." There was a third servant with them who "probably wears blue Clothes, or a Coat of Blankets."

In 1763[1] Stiegel offered a reward for the return of a "Mulatto Slave" who had on

> "an old castor Hat, Bearskin Jacket, and a striped Linsey one under it, Check Shirt, cotton stockings, and new Shoes,

[1] In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for November 3, 1763.

and has both Breeches and Trowsers with him, as also a Gun, Tomahawk, and a Pair of Boots."

Another advertisement by Stiegel[1] was for a

"Dutch Servant Man" who had on "a light brown camblet coat, a Waistcoat of blue cloth, without sleeves, new Fustian Breeches, new Shoes, with large Brass Buckles, and a Felt Hat"; still another advertisement in 1768, was for a "bound servant" who "wears a dark brown peruke"; and, in 1771, he advertised for a runaway "servant glass blower" who wore when he disappeared "a brown coat, a yellow silk striped Jacket, a pair of boots and a beaver hat."

All of which indicates that in those days a man could be distinguished by his dress.

A gentleman of means, on dress occasions, wore a square-cut coat of silk or velvet stiffened out at the skirts with wire and buckram. The coat was left wide open to display the long-flapped waistcoat with its wide pockets. The sleeves of the coat were short and had large cuffs. A point-lace cravat protected his neck and over his tie-wig he wore a cocked hat trimmed with gold lace. His shoes were square-toed and had silver buckles. His silk stockings reached above the knee where they met the silk or velvet knee breeches. Washington at his second inauguration, which occurred in Philadelphia, was dressed in a full suit of black velvet, with knee breeches, black silk stockings and diamond knee buckles. His high shoes, brightly japanned, were surmounted with large, square silver buckles. His hair was powdered and gathered behind in a black silk bag on which was a bow of black ribbon. He carried in his hand a cocked hat decorated with the American cockade, and wore a light dress sword in a green

[1] In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for August 28, 1766.

shagreen scabbard with a richly ornamented hilt.[1] Beaux strutted before the fair sex in square-cut coats, knee breeches, silk stockings, and powdered wigs. Both their shoes and knee breeches had buckles and they also wore light dress swords. Even Quaker gentlemen wore wigs. In fact, the early dress of the Quaker was that of the cavalier of his day, with the exception that he wore no feather in his broad-brimmed hat.

Richly dressed ladies wore satin slippers often with excessively high heels to give them added height. High hairdressing was also for a time in vogue, but was followed by a fancy for curls. Flounced silk petticoats distended by hoops became the fashion in the first quarter of the eighteenth century and, with variations in size, continued in use until after the Civil War. This hoop-skirt fashion led the Friends at a Monthly Meeting in Concord, Delaware County, in 1739, to take a stand against the "wearing of hoop petticoats" and other "indiscreet dress." Tightly laced stomachers richly ornamented with gold braid, short-sleeved dresses with point-lace trimming made to fall gracefully over the wrists, and a light silk hood worn in the street completed such a lady's apparel.

A century later Paris ordained that a lady should appear in the street with ruffled pantaloons peeping from beneath her petticoat, and that underneath her pelisse, thrown wide open at the neck, should appear a shirt of cambric plaited in imitation of those worn by men and fastened down the center with three gold or jeweled buttons. Ladies' maids in the olden days wore short dresses slightly puffed out in the prevailing fashion, bright aprons, silk neckerchiefs, and a neat cap

[1] Cf. Stansbury's *Recollections and Anecdotes of the Presidents.*

to give smartness to their somewhat plain costume. The dress for church was for both sexes much more sober than for social occasions. Watson says that women generally wore to church short gowns and petticoats, with either check or white flaxen aprons. Distinguishing habits of dress based on religious belief were a later development and in some cases assumed an importance almost equal to questions of morality.

Living conditions were modified very rapidly after factories and railroads began to appear, although changes came much more slowly on the frontiers than in places near the coast or close to the larger towns and cities. The Rev. Joseph Doddridge has given us in his *Notes* an excellent idea of conditions on the western frontier of Pennsylvania as they prevailed prior to 1824. The hunting shirt, he said, was universally worn by men. It was a kind of loose frock reaching halfway to the knees and large enough to lap over a foot or more where it opened in the front. It had a large cape, sometimes handsomely fringed with a raveled piece of cloth of different color from the shirt itself. The belt for it, always tied from behind, served as a carrier for the tomahawk, hunting knife, and other things, just as the bosom of the hunting shirt served as a receptacle for things usually carried in pockets. Tow for cleaning the barrel of the rifle and often the bullet bag itself found a place in it.

The hunting shirt was made of linsey or coarse linen. A few were made of deerskins although these were cold and uncomfortable in wet weather. The shirt and jacket underneath the hunting shirt were of the fashion generally worn by others. A pair of drawers or breeches and a pair of leggings covered the thighs and

legs, and the feet were shod with moccasins made of dressed deerskin. These moccasins reached as high as the ankle or even higher and were well adapted to frontier life, as they were quickly made and easily mended. For these purposes an awl with buckhorn handle and abundant deerskin and deerskin thongs or "whangs" as they were called, were always carried on trips away from home. The women usually went barefooted in summer; for, instead of spending time on their toilets, they had to handle the distaff or shuttle, the sickle, or weeding hoe, "content if they could obtain their linsey clothing and cover their heads with a sun-bonnet made of six or seven hundred linen." The coats and bed gowns of the women, as well as the hunting shirts of the men, were hung on wooden pegs around the walls of the cabin.

Domestic Life

Doddridge's description of domestic life doubtless applied to all places distant from the cities and larger towns. "Hominy blocks" and "hand mills" were in use in most of the houses; the former was made of a large block of wood about three feet long with a bowl-like excavation, in which a pestle was used, burned in one end; the hand mills consisted of two circular stones, the lower of which was called the "bedstone," the upper the "runner." The runner was revolved either within a cylindrical cavity prepared for it in the bedstone, or was revolved on the bedstone if both were confined within a hoop made for the purpose. In either case the runner had one or more holes near its outer edge for vertical pegs with which to revolve it. The pegs for large hand mills extended upward into a bar that enabled two per-

sons to revolve the runner. As the corn was ground, the meal worked its way out through an opening in the bedstone or a spout in the enclosing hoop. While the corn was still soft a large tin grater fastened to a board was used instead of either the hominy block or the hand mill. Mortars, made from a short section of a tree, were also used instead of hominy blocks. The first gristmills were simple, inexpensive affairs run by "tub wheels." A simple, vertical shaft extended from such horizontal water wheels, which were four or five feet in diameter, through the bedstone of the mill to the runner. Instead of bolting cloths, sifters, made of parchment-like deerskin perforated with a hot wire, were in general use.

Amusements

All of this was very primitive and our ancestors were of necessity hard workers; but they had their amusements and people were neighborly. Such highly appreciated social affairs for the men as building a cabin for a young married couple, or assisting at a "barn-raising" for a neighbor, or a "corn-husking bee," or a "butchering," and for the women a "quilting party" or an "apple-butter boiling," often involved plenty of labor but were not regarded as work. They were looked upon as "frolics" and were often followed by dances, at which the local fiddler presided; and they always were accompanied by plenty to eat and to drink. The "spelling bee," the "singing school," and "sleighing parties" followed in due course of time, and the Sunday gathering at the church was always a social as well as a religious event.

Periodical fairs, to which farm as well as other prod-

ucts were brought for sale or exchange, were established and soon furnished a favorite field for types of amusement that the sober-minded Quakers regarded as so demoralizing that they had these fairs prohibited by law. The fact that merchants complained of encroachments on their business also influenced the decision against them. Although Penn in the charter he had granted Philadelphia authorized two fairs to be held each year, Councils abolished them in 1775 because

> "Owing to the great Increase of Stores and Shops for the Sale of every species of Merchandize, they have been found not only useless, but to have become real Nuisances, or they tend to debauch the Morals of the people, and to facilitate the Commission of Thefts and other Offences."

Chester and Chichester (Marcus Hook) also held semiannual fairs, and similar complaints were made about the amusements there. But curiosity and the love of amusement are inborn and hard to frown down or successfully legislate against. As early as 1724 a rope-walking and rope-dancing exhibition drew crowds to "Society Hill" in Philadelphia. People willingly paid to see an "African lion of large size"; "Royal tigers from Asia"; a "Whale caught in the Delaware," with the privilege of taking a seat on a chair in its mouth after it had died; dwarfs and human monstrosities; an Egyptian mummy with its sarcophagus; and panoramas; and exhibitions of wax figures. Peale in his museum in the State House was able to keep the curiosity of the public at a satisfactory pitch for many years. A circus was opened on Market Street in 1785; and Ricketts' new arena, at Sixth and Chestnut Streets, where Washington was given a famous banquet, was

completed in 1795. But the General Assembly of Delaware deemed it necessary as late as 1829 to pass a sweeping law prohibiting exhibitions by circus riders and others of

> "tumbling or other feats of riding upon, or managing a horse or horses, or any circus show, or sport whatever, for the purpose of gain . . . or if any rope dancer, tumbler, mountebank, or other person, shall exhibit, or cause to be exhibited . . . rope dancing, tumbling, tricks or puppet shows," the fine for disobeying the law was to be $50.

Before the Revolution such barbarous amusements as bull baiting and bear baiting, and especially cockfighting, were patronized by persons of otherwise high respectability. Timothy Matlack, who in his political writings signed himself "T. G.," was so fond of cockfighting that he was nicknamed "Tim Gaff." The favorite recreation of horseback riding soon developed into races on courses established at Center Square, Germantown, and near Bustleton. A prominent Philadelphia street received its name, Race Street, because in the early days it was a favorite place for races. Bowling greens, quoits, and shuffleboards also had their devotees. Wrestling and other tests of strength were popular although pugilism and fencing met with little favor in the Valley of the Delaware. Duels, a direct descendant of the old "Trial by Battle" which was not legally abolished in England until 1819, occurred occasionally, a favorite fighting ground being Claymont near the dividing line between Pennsylvania and Delaware. The last recorded duel fought there was in 1845 between two Philadelphians, both being wounded at the first discharge of their pistols. However, after the unfortunate duel between Hamilton and Burr in 1804,

it began to be regarded as neither cowardice nor a sign of being in the wrong to refuse to fight a duel.

Of all the outdoor sports skating was the favorite, and Philadelphia had a number of men noted for their skill and speed on the ice. Graydon in his *Memoirs* hazarded the opinion "that they are the best and most elegant skaters in the world." But there were other skaters in the valley ready to challenge Philadelphia's superiority and these contests always drew a great crowd. Wilmington and New Castle furnished some of these contestants. Joseph Parrish was rated as an exceptionally expert skater; but, being a Quaker, he did not indulge in "fancy touches." It is said that Benjamin West's skating skill not only astonished London crowds but also enabled him to secure favor and portrait orders from the nobility.

"Gardens," where people could gather for out-of-door sports and refreshments, sprang up in great numbers in the larger centers of population. These were on the plan of the London Gardens; and Gray's Ferry in Philadelphia was one of the first to be so fitted up. This was followed by others where concerts, fireworks, balloon ascensions, and other forms of amusement were to be found. Although the Friends visited these gardens and took part in general in outdoor sports, they strenuously opposed theaters. Miss Repplier says it is worthy of note that among the straitlaced persons who deemed it scandalous to look on at Hamlet or Othello there were not a few who took delight in cockfighting and bullfighting.[1] In addition to the general opposition of the Friends to all "vain displays," the special reason for the objection of the "straitlaced" to theaters is indicated

[1] Cf. *Philadelphia and Its People*, by Agnes Repplier, p. 69.

in an act of the Pennsylvania Assembly signed by the president of the state July 18, 1788:

> "Is it not true," the act recites, "that Fornication and Adultery are among the characters of the devoted Pupils of the State. . . . Are not gamblers and the companions of Brothels to be found there?"

The only place which a theatrical troupe that appeared in Philadelphia in 1749 could secure for their performances was a warehouse on Water Street. Lewis Hallam brought an English company to this warehouse in 1753 after a successful tour in the South and must have met with success, for they remained for several months. In 1766 Hallam returned to Philadelphia and opened performances in a new building which had been erected at South and Apollo Streets; but he met with so much opposition from the authorities that he had to list his plays as "concerts" and "readings." This old Southwark Theatre was the one used by "Howe's Thespians" for their plays during the winter of 1777–78. The unfortunate Major André was a leading spirit in staging these performances, and is said to have written some of the plays as well as painted the scenery for them.

It is claimed that "the British redcoats" had a demoralizing influence on Philadelphia society, and that the place could no longer thereafter truthfully be called "a staid old Quaker town." But there was from the first an element in the valley that had been used to courts and gay assemblies; and gradually the growing desire for social functions began to express itself in "tea parties" and "dinners" where dancing became a feature. Then in the winter of 1748–49 the famous "Assembly Balls" were started. This was several years before

the city of Charleston, South Carolina, organized its celebrated "Saint Cecelia Society," and was the first social movement of the kind in the country. Indeed, Philadelphia from the middle of the eighteenth century became noted for the luxury displayed in many of its homes and in its various social events. General Greene, who was located in Philadelphia for a short time after the British departure, evidently was not financially able to attend all of these functions, for he wrote to General Sullivan January 26, 1779:

> "The inhabitants of this city are on the high road of luxury and extravagance. Such entertainments you never saw as are given here. We poor fellows belonging to the Army could not pay the expense of one dinner under half a year's pay. There are assemblies once a fortnight and private and public balls every night."

Travel and Trade

Both travel and trade at first used the streams, for roads were mere paths through the forests. When these paths had to be used, travel was by horseback. Even long after roads were opened travel was by horse back, with the lady, if she accompanied a man, seated on a "pillion" back of his saddle. Some of the old "horse blocks," where she could readily mount or dismount, are still to be seen at a few of the old church buildings. Only the very rich affected the luxury of a chaise or a coach and, owing to the roughness of the roads, these were not always a comfortable luxury. With the increase in commerce and travel stagecoaches and covered wagons appeared, and these led to a great multiplication of inns where drink and food, as well as lodging, could be secured for both man and beast.

Fully sixty of these inns were located on the main highways between Philadelphia and Lancaster during stage-coach and Conestoga-wagon days.

Goods at first were transported toward the western frontiers by means of pack horses which usually traveled in trains of from twelve to fifteen. The horses were tethered together with two men in charge, one with the lead horse and the other in the rear to watch the line of horses as well as the packs on their backs. But such transportation was expensive and a horse could not well carry over 200 pounds. With the opening and improvement of roads came, about 1760, the picturesque Conestoga wagon, with its ability to carry far more and far heavier freight; then, especially after the introduction of the use of coal, came canals; and, finally, soon after 1830, railroads entered on the scene and, because of their carrying power, speed, convenience, and ability to run during the winter season, gradually supplanted all other means of transportation excepting in the undeveloped West.

West Jersey quite early opened a road that connected its two important settlements, Burlington and Salem; but Philadelphia as the metropolis of the Valley of the Delaware naturally had the most important roads radiating out from it. One of these led toward the South and was variously known as the King's or Queen's Highway, according to the sex of the English ruler. At first this road did not touch Chester; but in 1765 it was condemned as "very crooked and far about" and as leading over fifteen steep and stony hills, and a new road passing through Chester was laid out. One of the important Philadelphia roads extended toward Lancaster; another toward Reading; but the most important of

all was opened to New York with a continuation into New England.

The condition of these roads especially in the Spring was simply wretched. Even as late as 1793 the road to New York had "Stumps of trees, left uprooted for Time to consume," and in places the horses were scarcely able to drag their coaches through the mire. To prevent upsetting in deep and dangerous ruts the coachman often had to call out: "Now, gentlemen, to the right," or "to the left," according to the side from which he wanted them to lean. But the valley had ample material in the way of stones for surfacing roads and of timber for bridging streams, and on the whole seems to have had better roads than the other colonies, as well as probably for some time a greater need for them on account of the extent of its settlements and trade. Alice Morse Earle says:[1]

> "As the roads were somewhat better in Pennsylvania than in some other provinces, and more needed, so wagons soon were far greater in number; indeed, during the Revolution nearly all the wagons and horses used by the army came from that state."

In the valley of the Conestoga of eastern Pennsylvania also originated the Conestoga wagon, with its stormproof white cover and its curved bottom so well adapted to preventing its load from slipping forward or backward during the ascent or descent of hills. Four-wheeled vehicles are said to have been rare in New England until the prosperity following the panic of 1819 set in[2]; but as early as 1725–26 Daniel Evans advertised a "four-wheeled chaise" for the accommodation

[1] *Home Life in Colonial Days*, by Alice Morse Earle, p. 339.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 344.

of passengers from Philadelphia to Germantown, Frankford, or Gray's Ferry. "Stage wagons" are said to have furnished connection between Philadelphia and Burlington as early as 1732, and thus formed the first public stage route in America.[1] The first stage connection with New York was in 1756. At that time the trip was a three-day affair each way—by boat to Burlington and then by stage to Perth Amboy where a boat left for New York. The proprietor who reduced the New York trip to two days advertised his stage as "the flying machine." When the bridge over the Delaware at Trenton was completed in 1806, direct stage connection without change was made between New York and Philadelphia and the time reduced to a day and a half. Stage connection with Baltimore was by the way of boat to New Castle, stage to Frenchtown on the Chesapeake, then boat to Baltimore. This for many years was also the route when a railroad displaced the stage from New Castle to Frenchtown.

David Rittenhouse as early as 1773 presented the feasibility of connecting the Delaware with the Susquehanna by means of a canal; but it was not until 1791 that a company for the purpose of building it was chartered. That same year, 1791, a proposition to connect the Susquehanna with the Allegheny near Pittsburgh was presented to the Pennsylvania Assembly; but the cost of carrying the canal across the Alleghenies was found to be prohibitive. It was then that the wide-awake governor of New York, De Witt Clinton, seized the opportunity for using the natural waterway presented by the Mohawk River for constructing a canal connecting the Hudson with Lake Erie. But

[1] Cf. Davis' *History of Bucks County.*

travel by canal was too slow to be popular and railroads were too slow in developing; hence, stage lines continued to be both popular and profitable until well on toward the middle of the nineteenth century.

Stagecoaches had their halcyon days after private corporations began to improve the roads by forming turnpike companies, which collected toll for the use of their roads at "toll gates" located along the way. Some of these turnpike companies continued to hold their rights until the coming of the automobile made them such intolerable nuisances that the states were compelled to buy them out. A few of the milestones along the old main highways still remain as a reminder of stagecoach days. An interesting one stands at a corner of the old courthouse in Chester. When Franklin became postmaster-general, he is said to have placed milestones all the way from Philadelphia to Boston. It is interesting to know that the Valley of the Delaware had "mail coaches" (stagecoaches that carried the mail) long before they were introduced into England.[1]

Laws and Punishments

Many of the laws of the colonists grew out of the nature of their determination to protect themselves and their property as well as to perpetuate their rights. During the period of Swedish possession controversies were decided on the basis of the laws and customs of Sweden. The time of their two principal Swedish Courts, New Castle and Upland, was taken up almost entirely with the public acknowledgment of land deals; with disputes concerning the ownership of animals,

[1] Cf. Earle's *Home Life in Colonial Days*, p. 344.

which at that time were allowed to run free in the meadows and woods; and in the adjudication of violent quarrels. When the English obtained possession in 1664, a code based on "The Duke's Laws" was adopted. Although these laws of the Duke of York were liberal in many respects, they made no provision for constitutional liberty, and practically arbitrary power was left in the hands of the governor. Under some of these governors, who were located in New York, the people enjoyed a large measure of civic and religious freedom; under others this freedom was greatly curtailed and punishments were meted out on the basis of retaliation for nonconformity with the laws and the permitted customs and belief. William Penn, on the contrary, not only established self-government and religious freedom in his province, but also endeavored to establish his ideas that capital punishment should be restricted to murder and high treason, and that the redemption of the criminal should be sought rather than revenge for his crime.

The Provincial Council, over which Penn himself at first presided, practically formed a court of errors and appeal; and, although the existing Swedish courts were allowed to continue and other courts were found necessary, lawyers and legal technique were not in favor with Penn. All persons were encouraged to plead their own cases, although they might be assisted by their "friends"; but if these friends accepted pay for their services, they were subject to a fine of £5 —a condition offering little inducement toward law as a profession. Moreover, in 1705, "arbitrators" could be chosen in open court by the parties in dispute. Their decision in the matter was final. This arrangement

The "Shagrag," one of the earliest forms of a fire engine. In the museum of the Franklin Institute.

"Roberts Mill," built in Germantown as a "corn mill," by Richard Townsend in 1683. Ruins of the masonry supporting the mill race for the overshot water wheel shows in the left. These mills proved a great boon to the early settlers.

kept most contested affairs out of the courts and proved so popular that it was continued until long after the Revolution. Relatively few of the early court records have come down to us, owing to carelessness in transcribing and storing them. Courthouse caretakers, not being warned of the importance of these records, are said often to have used them in lighting fires.

Although under Penn's administration capital punishment was restricted to two offenses, after his death crime increased to such an extent that this number gradually was increased to fourteen, including highway robbery, horse stealing, and counterfeiting; but it never included such things as witchcraft, idolatry, perjury, and cursing or striking parents, as was the case in Massachusetts where fifteen offenses were subject to the dealth penalty.[1] While redemptioners were accused of being responsible for much of this crime increase, the probabilities are that criminals regarded America's new fields, where they were unknown, as favorable to their activities, and that the countries where they were known were also not at all loath to see them go.

Notwithstanding Penn's more humane ideas, punishments in the early days soon became severe and extended to many things which in these days are commonplace and not regarded as having a taint of crime. Great stress seems to have been laid on the efficacy of publicly branding an offender as a means of preventing a repetition of his crime as well as a warning to others. Exposure to public gaze in the stocks or pillory was used for these purposes and, as this was usually on market day, hoodlums took advantage of the poor wretches

[1] However, at that time nearly 200 offenses in England were subject to capital punishment.

and it is said "the price of eggs went up much" on such occasions. Extreme bodily suffering, as well as public humiliation, was also regarded as beneficial in preventing crime; hence, there were many public whippings, some of them with the criminal tied to the end of a cart while it was being driven through the streets; sometimes there was the cruel branding with hot irons, which forever debarred the offender from the pale of good society. Denunciation of the English ruler was regarded as such a serious crime that *lèse majesté* subjected the offender to all three of these severer punishments.

Little mercy was shown Negroes and there are on record at least two cases in the valley in which Negroes were burned at the stake for murder, and one of them was that of a woman. How greatly branding with red-hot irons was dreaded is indicated in a Gloucester, New Jersey, court record in 1690 when two men, convicted of burglary, were offered the choice of being "burnt to the bone" in the hand with the letter T, or of five years of slavery in the West Indies under the most cruel conditions, and they chose the latter. During the Revolution the American army became so "shamefully reduced by desertions" that Washington at one time wrote he feared "we shall be obliged to detail one half the army to bring back the other."[1] Instead of resorting to the extreme penalty of death for desertion, some of the officers endeavored to check it by such severe punishments as running the gauntlet naked between two files of soldiers armed with switches, riding the wooden horse, and severe whippings, but with little effect. Both the army and the public had to learn that

[1] Cf. Ford's *Washington's Writings.*

the swiftness and surety of punishments are greater deterrents than their severity.

The stigma that our ancestors attached to the inability to pay debts led them to adopt the English law which permitted a creditor to imprison a debtor who was either unable or unwilling to pay his debt. And the imprisoned debtor had to remain in jail until the debt was cancelled. This so interfered with his earning capacity that it usually meant imprisonment for life unless friends came to his rescue, or being a single man he was willing to sell himself as a redemptioner. But married men did not have this privilege. In 1706 no less than forty-four persons in the "Debtors' Jail" in Philadelphia petitioned Governor Evans for relief, stating that some of them had been kept in jail because they could not find persons to sell themselves unto for a term of years to pay their debts and thus "redeem their bodies." Imprisonment for debt was sometimes for what amounted to only a few dollars; and that such persons as William Penn in England and Robert Morris in America suffered the humiliation of a debtors' prison indicates that public sentiment sustained the law. It was not repealed in Pennsylvania until early in the nineteenth century, although long before its repeal the imprisonment of females for debts or of anyone for debts amounting to less than five dollars was disallowed. Arrested debtors also had by that time been given the privilege of posting bonds for their appearance at the next court of insolvency instead of going at once to jail.

While there were highway robberies and occasional brutal murders in the early days, crimes in general were of a petty nature in comparison to what we are witnessing today.

The following will illustrate the fines and other penalties meted out for offenses against the laws of the earlier days in the Valley of the Delaware:

1688—A man was presented to the grand jury in Chester for Profanation of the Sabbath by traveling "with a yoke of oxen and a wayne."

1698—A man was sentenced in Chester to receive thirty lashes on his bare back for stealing a bushel of wheat.

1702—A Philadelphia butcher was fined "for swearing twice oaths in the market place."

1703—We find the grand jury in Philadelphia presenting all persons found playing cards in public.

1703—Three Philadelphia barbers were fined "for trimming people on First-day."

1705—A Philadelphian was fined twenty shillings for "laboring on the Sabbath-day" and another ten shillings for "tippling on the Sabbath."

1707—Two Negroes were sentenced to death for burglary; but on petition of their Philadelphia owners, who, no doubt had paid a good price for them, the sentence was changed to the following: "They shall be led from the Market place, up ye Second Street, & down through the front street to ye Bridge, with their arms extended & tied to a pole across their Necks, a Cart going before them, and that they shall be severely Whipt all the way as they pass, upon the bare back and shoulders; the punishment shall be repeated for 3 market days successively; in the meantime they shall lie in Irons, in the prison, at the owners Charge, until they have such an Opportunity as shall best please them for transportation"—presumably to slavery in the much dreaded Barbadoes Islands.[1]

1717—Apprentices and servants running away from their masters were publicly whipped and in addition charged six shillings for the unwelcome service.

1717—A man in Chester who had stolen eight pounds was sentenced to "refund it fourfold and be whipped twenty-one

[1] *Colonial Records*, II, p. 405.

lashes, and to wear a Roman T of a blue color for the space of six months not less than four inches long each way, and one inch broad."[1]

1729—A man was whipped "at the cart-tail" through the streets of Philadelphia on market day. A similar case in 1730.

1731—A woman "burned alive" at the stake in New Castle, Delaware, for the murder of her husband. It had been arranged that she was to be strangled by a noose around her neck before the flames reached her, but they flared up too quickly.

1735—A woman was publicly whipped on the bare back in Philadelphia for picking pockets in the market.

1738—A Negro was "executed by fire" in New Jersey for murdering a child of his master's.

1764—A Negro woman was hanged in Chester for burglary. At that time there was a special law "for the Tryal of Negroes."

Horses were scarce and valuable and horse stealing became an offense punishable by death. Even as late as 1830 in South Carolina for the first offense fifty to two hundred lashes were administered and for the second offense "death without the benefit of clergy." In New Jersey an early law provided "for burglary or highway robbery for the first offense burning in the hand; the second, in the forehead—and for the third offense death."[2] Illicit connection between the sexes was punishable by fines and whippings; the Salem County, New Jersey, records show that two women were publicly whipped for this offense, one in 1716 and one in 1732.[2] Two instances in the Chester County records show that Pennsylvania laws were equally strict on the subject. In one case, for having a child born too

[1] Smith's *History of Delaware County*, p. 226.
[2] *Warren County History and Directory* by Weaver & Kern.
[3] Johnson's *History of the First Settlement of Salem, New Jersey.*

soon after marriage, a fine of twenty shillings was imposed on the couple and they were obliged to stand at the whipping post while the sheriff declared their offense to the people. In the other case the woman was obliged to stand for a quarter of an hour before the whipping post with a placard on her breast stating: "I here stand for an example to all others for committing the most wicked and notorious sin of fornication."[1] What happened to the man in the case is not stated; but, no doubt, as has always been the case, the woman had to bear the brunt of the punishment.

Superstition

Superstition was very prevalent in the early days in America, especially among the German settlers; nor are all minds entirely free from it even in these modern times. It seems to have had its origin in the instinctive belief in the supernatural that is an inheritance from our primitive ancestors. Dean Swift called it "the spleen of the soul," and the gifted statesman, Edmund Burke, was wont to defend superstitious persons on the ground that—

> "Superstition is the religion of feeble minds and they must be tolerated in an intermixture of it in some shape or other, else you deprive weak minds of a resource found necessary to the strongest."[2]

These early superstitions took the form of belief in witchcraft, in conjuring, the casting of nativities, and signs and ghosts; and it still persists in an unreasoned belief in the misfortune apt to attend undertakings on

[1] Smith's *History of Delaware County*.
[2] Quoted from Watson's *Annals*, I, p. 267.

Friday, the malign influences of the number 13, or of passing a black cat or underneath a ladder, and of the fickleness of good fortune if we fail to knock on wood when it is mentioned.

The most learned divines in Massachusetts believed witchcraft so thoroughly attested and so fully condemned by the Bible that, before the end of 1692, they had imprisoned more than 100 persons, many of them from highly respectable families, and executed nineteen of them before the delusion passed. Hartford, Connecticut, had several such trials; the people of West Chester County, New York, complained to the governor of the doings of a witch in their midst; the province of Virginia had the case of Grace Sherwood in Princess Ann County; and Pennsylvania took over an old English law which led to the trial for witchcraft of Margaret Mattson before Penn and his Provincial Council. But evidently Penn and his counselors were not credulous enough to condemn her, for they adopted the sufficiently ambiguous verdict: "Guilty of having the common fame of a witch, but not guilty in the manner and form as she stands indicted."

Conjurors were credited with the supernatural power of being able to locate hidden treasures and the most favorable locations for digging wells, to be able to compel thieves to return stolen goods, and by their incantations to cure diseases that baffled well-known remedies. Worthwhile advance in the use of herbs, roots, leaves, and bark had been made long before medicine began to be a more exact science; but, when their use failed, resort was often made to the conjuring "hex doctor" who made his appeal through the unusual, the weird, and sometimes the loathsome. Kriebel in his *History*

of the Schwenkfelders[1] mentions a few of the prescriptions given at such "hexings." For whooping-cough,

> "take the hair of one who never saw his father and place it around the neck of the patient, either in a bag, or sewed in the clothing or plaited in a braid; or this: give the patient bread and butter spread by one who did not change her family name at marriage; for convulsive fits, take a skein of unwashed yarn, spun by a child under seven years of age, pass it over the forehead of the patient, then pass the patient through the skein three times the same way, burn the yarn, gather the ashes and add a little of the ashes to the patient's soup."

Such conjures were of course either self-deceived persons with some mesmeric powers, or merely pure frauds; but astrologers, alchemists, and magicians were the first scientists of the human race and made practically all of the advances in astronomy, medicine, and chemistry that were known before the more exact work of modern science came into existence. And the homely remedies of our Dutch and German housewives, as well as the pharmacopœias of our herb doctors are not to be despised.

Almost every locality had its "haunted house" which the ghost of a murdered person rendered practically uninhabitable; and no hidden treasure could be unearthed with safety until "the magic ring" around it was completed by encircling the spot, while repeating the formulas supposed to be effective in "laying the ghost" of the pirate killed and buried with it for its safekeeping. We may smile at the credulity of our ancestors and congratulate ourselves on our superior opportunities for comfort and happiness; but on the

[1] Page 163 of Kriebel's *History of the Schwenkfelders*..

whole they were probably a better satisfied and certainly a more neighborly people than we know in these days of strenuous living and of a more or less stratified society. Their problems were simple and largely local. They knew nothing of the complexities of our modern life, so thoroughly dependent upon world-wide conditions that even our political and economic experts are at sea as to the best policies to pursue.

Town meetings instead of political bosses decided as to the laws to enact and the persons to hold office; and it did not require then, as it seems to now, such an extensive bureaucracy to carry out and safeguard the public will that there is danger of its becoming a menace other than that of mere expense. Justice was not hampered by legal technicalities nor prevented by long-drawn-out appeals. The ability to employ shrewd lawyers and provide for fines and bonds did not then work in favor of the rich and influential and against the poor wretches unable to supply these things. Nor did initiative, industry, and integrity have to bend beneath such a varied and heavy load of taxation while struggling for success. In some respects neither the people of the Valley of the Delaware nor of the nation have warrant for boasting of unadultered progress.

But the great resources of the Valley of the Delaware in population, wealth, and natural advantages should keep it in the front line of our struggling democracy in its determination that "the crooked shall be made straight and the rough places plain." And an equitable distribution of the products of the great resources of the valley should guarantee comfort and prosperity to everyone willing to work with energy and foresight in their use. It is a valley of homes; and

the picturesque beauty of its streams and varied landscape has enabled these homes to be placed in attractive settings. There remains a sufficient number of well-preserved landmarks to challenge to a better understanding and appreciation of America's early history. Combined with the rare collections assembled in museums and historical collections, these landmarks not only help to an understanding of how our forefathers lived and wrought but also make the Valley of the Delaware an exceedingly interesting region for research work and historical pilgrimage.

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Some of the Noted Men Who Added to the Early Fame of the Valley of the Delaware

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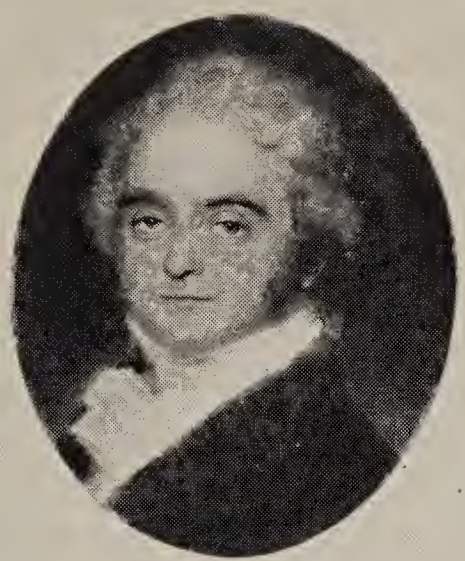
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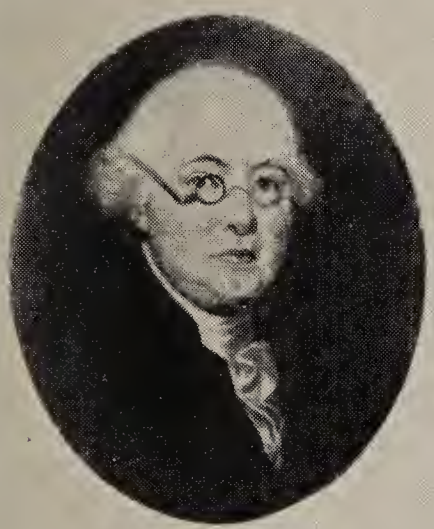
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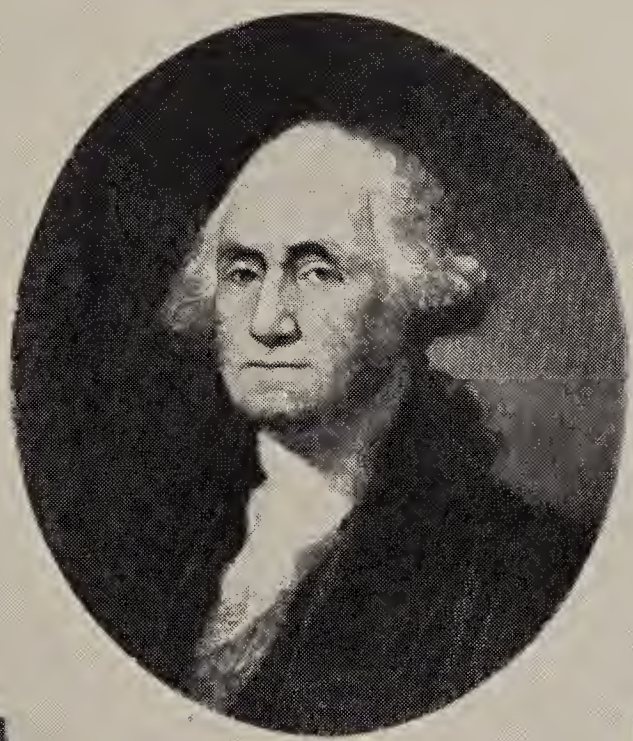
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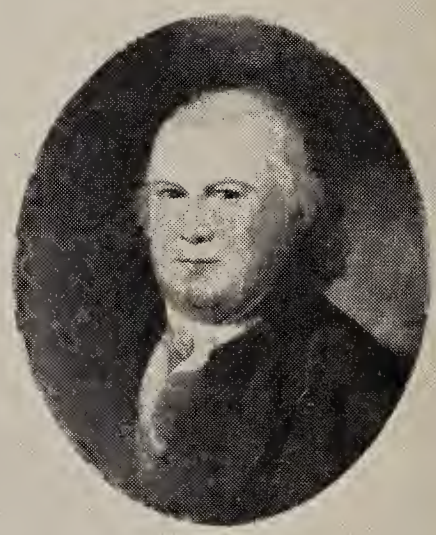
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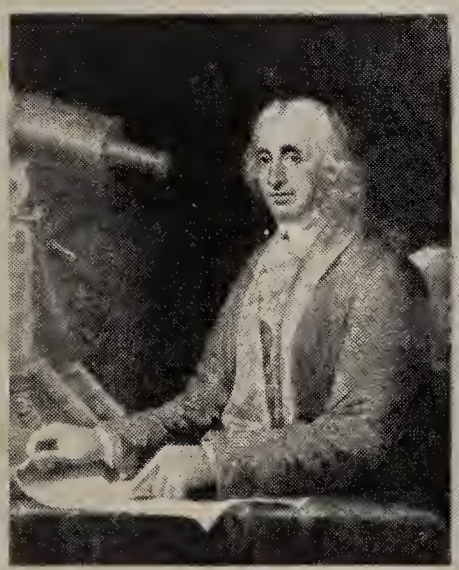
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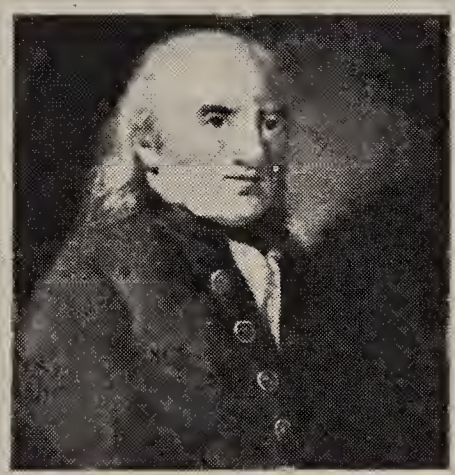
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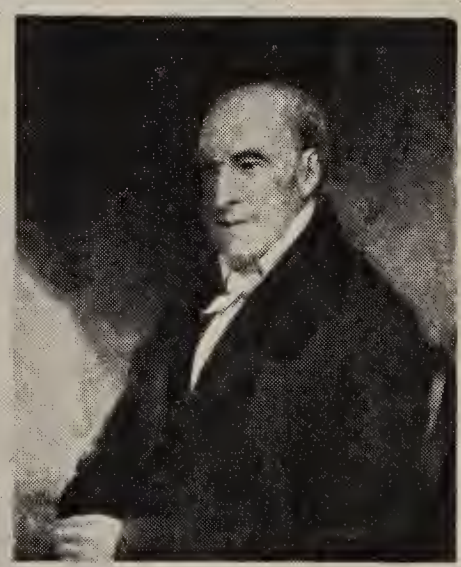
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